

Towards Positive Ageing: Older People's Advocacy in New Zealand, 1970-2001

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Abstract

During the second half of the twentieth century demographic, economic, political and social changes in New Zealand began to transform older people's lived experience. National organisations such as the National Old People's Welfare Council (later Age Concern), the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation (later Grey Power), and the New Zealand Returned Servicemen's Association (NZRSA) emerged to highlight the plight of older people and fight for their needs that were perceived as not being met by Government. This thesis aims to explore the role these three national organisations had in the development and implementation of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* (2001) in New Zealand. Each organisation adopted advocacy as a function of their services and collaborated with, and lobbied against the New Zealand Government on issues important to the majority of older people in New Zealand. The emergence of national advocacy groups for older people in New Zealand transformed the relationship between aged care and the New Zealand government, and contributed to a broader shift in public discourse related to 'positive ageing'. Examination of the input into this discourse at a community, national and international level culminated with the introduction of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* in 2001.

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Glossary

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| Age Concern | The National Old People's Welfare Council changed their name to Age Concern in 1991. |
| Grey Power | The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation changed its name to Grey Power in 1989. |
| Kaumātua | Māori word for older person (male or female), a person of status within the <i>whanau</i> (family). |
| Mokopuna | Māori word for grandchild. |
| Tangata Whenua | Māori term that means "people of the land." |

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Introduction

For the first half of the twentieth century, public and media perceptions of older people in New Zealand focused on them being poor victims “bravely maintaining their independence in adverse circumstances”.¹ Old age was synonymous with sickness, frailty and hopelessness. At the beginning of the twentieth century New Zealand was considered a young country with only 4 percent of the population being 65 years and over.² Life expectancy was low. A male could expect to live an average of 58 years, while a female could expect to live just over 60 years.³ Older people were expected to be cared for by family. If this was not an option they were sent to benevolent institutions, which were described by Nancy Swarbrick as being “often grim, uncomfortable places”.⁴ From an early stage, the New Zealand Government acknowledged the need to provide older people with reasonable income security. Pensions first became payable under the *Old Age Pensions Act* (1898), a piece of legislation which remained in force until 1938, when replaced by the *Social Security Act*. The introduction of the *Social Security Act* guaranteed the pension become universal for 65-year-olds, and a number of small benefits were introduced to assist with other costs such as care. The pension was not significantly changed until the 1970s, where successive governments attempted to transform this benefit. A number of other social, economic, political and demographic changes occurred from the 1970s that transformed the lives of older people in New Zealand.

This thesis explores the growth of national older person’s advocacy groups from 1970. It is a story that investigates the changing relationship between advocacy groups and the New Zealand state as consecutive governments sought to reframe ageing and old age in New Zealand. It focuses on three national organisations, National Old People’s Welfare Council (later Age Concern), the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation (later Grey Power), and the New Zealand Returned Servicemen’s Association (NZRSA).⁵ Growth in urban areas and cultural difference in attitudes towards ageing, old age and volunteering meant that these organisations were primarily Pākehā focused, with predominantly older Pākehā men holding

¹ Margaret Tennant, *The fabric of welfare: voluntary organisations, government and welfare in New Zealand 1840-2005* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007), 151.

² Stats NZ, “Population ageing in New Zealand,” accessed April 14, 2019.

http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/older_people/pop-ageing-in-nz.aspx

³ New Zealand Board of Health Committee on the Care of the Aged, *Report of the Board of Health Committee on, Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, Report Series 13, 13 (Wellington: The Board, 1967), 15.

⁴ Nancy Swarbrick, “Care and carers: Care of elderly people,” accessed March 18, 2019.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/care-and-carers/page-2>.

⁵ The National Old People’s Welfare Council changed its name to Age Concern in 1991; the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation changes its name to Grey Power in 1989.

leadership positions. Despite this, these groups maintained their commitment to be the voice for all older New Zealanders. Examination of the experiences of specific advocacy for Māori older people are outside the scope of this thesis. Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA all adopted advocacy as a function of their services. They began to represent and draw attention to older people's needs and the most pressing issues they faced, with the aim of capturing the attention of both the state and the wider community.

Language used to describe those considered old is often associated with negative connotations. It is difficult to find expressions in the English language which do not convey this negative image of old age. Old age in New Zealand was not only looked upon negatively by younger people, those considered 'old' also viewed old age negatively.⁶ Older people's view of oldness was summed by one 1977 Christchurch study as "a negative state characterised by sickness, disability, and above all by a loss of control of one's self and one's environment".⁷ As a result, older people were reluctant to accept the label. Despite other terms being more commonly used, like 'elderly', 'aged' and 'geriatric', these terms carry with them perceptions of dependency and frailty. 'Pensioner' also reduces someone down to being characterized by one defining feature, whether or not they receive the pension. However, 'pensioner' does not have the same negative connotations associated with the term 'beneficiary' as older people in New Zealand have generally been considered as deserving of financial assistance.⁸ Language is a very important tool that can be used to empower and also disempower people. The term 'older people' and its derivatives are used throughout this thesis due to its neutral associations and its reinforcement that no matter the age, the reader is being reminded that the subject is still a person.

'Older people' is a relative term. Definitions of old age for individuals are neither clear-cut nor universally applicable. 'Old' is dependent on the individual, their culture, country and gender. Like the term 'older people', childhood has also had various interpretations, however

⁶ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years: Some Implications for New Zealand Society of an Ageing Population* (Wellington: Social Advisory Council, 1984), 18.

⁷ Neil W. Scotts and P. G. Koopman-Boyden, "Forty older people in Christchurch: an exploratory study," Research Report, Canterbury Aged People's Welfare Council, no. 2, Christchurch, 1977, 9.; J Turnbull, "Attitudes of Older People," in *Ageing New Zealanders: A Report to the world assembly on Ageing 1982*, ed. R. A. Barker, F. M. Caughey and M. W. Guthrie (Wellington: Department of Health, 1982), 17.

⁸ Peter Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments: A comparative analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 73.

this life stage has been explored more in depth in a historical context than older people.⁹ The examination of childhood as a construct expresses the constant revision of this idea throughout history and by historians. Parallels can be drawn between the examination of childhood as a construct and older people. Many western democracies consolidated the concept of old age through developing, standardizing and making it the subject of government policy.¹⁰ Looking at definitions of old age in New Zealand, especially as it is viewed within policy, often means looking at this from a European perspective. For many countries, including New Zealand, the first public discussion of old age as a stage of life was associated with legislation to provide an old age pension or indicate a retirement age.¹¹ It is unsurprising then that definitions of old age hinge on definitions spelt out in policy. However, this is not the only determining factor in defining old age. Like any other transition in life relating to age, life-course events contribute to the transitions from ‘young’ to ‘old’. Retirement from paid work and claiming the pension are usually perceived as a main indicator for this transition. Becoming a grandparent also could signify a change in role within the family structure and society. Ideas of ageing and old age are further complicated when considering distinctions within old age. Scholars and policy makers most commonly identify two different groups within old age, the ‘young-old’ and the ‘old-old’. The ‘young-old’ are generally characterised by their independence and considered to be those aged between 65 and 74, while the ‘old-old’ are characterised by their dependency and considered to be those over the age of 75. Although contested, a chronological definition of old age is commonly used. New Zealand was a founding member of the United Nations (UN) and has been actively engaged in the organisation. New Zealand draws on UN concepts and principles to help guide implementation of concepts and policies in New Zealand, this is particularly true for concepts in relation to old age and ageing.¹² UN tabulations provided figures for both 60 and 65 years of age as someone who could be considered ‘old’.¹³ A combination of a chronological definition of old age and the definition of old age as defined by the eligibility of superannuation in New Zealand has been used in this thesis to define

⁹ Ute Haring, Reesa Sorin, and Nerina J. Caltabiano, "Reflecting on Childhood and Child Agency in History," *Palgrave Communications* 5, 1 (2019): 2.

¹⁰ Cecily Hunter, "The concept of successful ageing: A contribution to a history of old age in modern Australia," *History Australia* 5, 2 (2008): 9.

¹¹ Hunter, "The concept of successful ageing," 2.

¹² For example, UN principles are drawn on in the development of the *Health of Older People Strategy* (2002); Ruth Dyson and New Zealand Ministry of Health, *Health of Older People Strategy: Health Sector Action to 2010 to Support Positive Ageing* (Wellington: Ministry of Health, 2002).

¹³ United Nations, *World Population Prospects: The 1998 Revision* (New York: United Nations, 1999), 2.

‘older people’. As the eligibility of superannuation changes from 1970 to 2001, this definition change is noted throughout the thesis when applicable.

Older people as a group have been explored more in the context of sociology than history. Outside of the discipline of history, research on older people and ageing in New Zealand predominantly has concentrated on their health. The introduction of social gerontology has shifted the focus of study from illness and disability to an emphasis on life history as well as societal and cultural forces.¹⁴ This shift in focus has occurred, in part, because of the increasing number and proportion of older people globally. In history, topics regarding ‘old age’, ‘the aged’ and ‘ageing’ have been found in research that deals primarily with other matters. In 1977, Peter Stearns noted that “only one article by a professional historian exists on any aspect of the history of ageing”.¹⁵ Cecily Hunter argued that little is known of the lives of older people in Australia who have not required assistance by the state, as most of what is known about older people is as a result of the poverty and neediness experienced by people in this demographic.¹⁶ In New Zealand, the situation is similar. The first histories of ageing and old age have focused on financial, legislative and social service themes.¹⁷ *Past Judgement: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, edited by Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant, brings together a wide range of research on a range of social policy contexts. Included in this analysis is Gaynor Whyte’s examination of old-age pensions. Margaret Tennant’s *The Fabric of Welfare: voluntary organisations, government and welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005*, 2007, offers a comprehensive analysis of the dealings of voluntary groups and government social services in New Zealand, with one section dedicated to exploring the care of the aged. Judith Davey’s *Tracking Social Change in New Zealand: From birth to death* is part of a wider series that presents trends and social statistics in a convenient way. This particular book makes links between social trends and policy, examining policy effects for a particular group or life-cycle stage, including old age.

As well as examining the history of old age in New Zealand through public policy, historians have also tended to focus on older people as part of the family unit. David Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janey Sceats’ book *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A*

¹⁴ William Edwards, “Taupaenui Māori Positive Ageing,” (PhD diss., Massey University, Palmerston North, 2010), 1.

¹⁵ Paul Johnson, “Historical readings of old age and ageing,” in *Old Age from Antiquity to Post-Modernity: From Antiquity to Postmodernity*, ed. Paul Johnson and Pat Thane (Routledge, 1998), 1.

¹⁶ Hunter, “The concept of successful ageing,” 2-3.

¹⁷ Johnson, “Historical readings of old age and ageing,” 1.

Demographic History brings together a number of studies about the family in New Zealand to present a continuity of thinking about the family and its changes from the nineteenth century to the start of the twenty-first century. Older people are found within the chapter “The family in uncharted waters: morphologies and their determinants”. Ana Giling and Marg Giling state that a number of topics regarding research into ageing and old age in New Zealand have continuously been ignored, including the political involvement of older people.¹⁸ Only one significant study has been done on the political involvement of older people in New Zealand. The paper, “Older People and the Political Process” by Nigel Roberts and Stephen Levine, noted the growing politicisation of elderly people and examined the composition, organisation, and aims of pressure groups, such as Grey Power, which attempted to influence government decisions.

Organisations that fit within the ‘community and voluntary sector’ are at the core of this thesis. There are a number of other terms that have been used both in the past and more recently that describe this sector; among them the term ‘charity’, ‘not-for-profit’, ‘non-governmental organisations’, and the ‘third sector’. This sector is diverse and complex as evidenced by the inclusion of 12 subsectors, ranging from sport to social services to environmental protection.¹⁹ Each subsector is structured differently which results in a wide array of governance arrangements.²⁰ Population groups, such as older adults, create another level of complexity by cutting through these subsectors. Defining this sector precisely is often difficult. The UN defines community and voluntary organisations as being organised, non-profit, private, self-governing, and not compulsory, in that participation is voluntary.²¹ However, even with these defining points there are still grey areas. Although private and separate, many organisations receive their funding from the government which causes issues when trying to remain independent. There are also organisations that make profits although it is not their main function. Any profits that are made are put back into the organisation. There too are organisations within this sector that employ paid staff, however this is a contested area within the community and voluntary sector. In this thesis, the term ‘community and

¹⁸ Ana Giling, Marg Giling, Angela Wither, Age Concern New Zealand Incorporated, Business and Economic Research Limited (Wellington), and New Zealand Association of Gerontology, *Older People in New Zealand: An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Elder People in New Zealand, 1986-1996* (Wellington: Age Concern N.Z., 1997), 9.

¹⁹ The Office for the Community & Voluntary Sector, *Briefing to the incoming minister: building on the power of shared experience* (Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2008), i.

²⁰ The Office for the Community & Voluntary Sector, *Briefing to the incoming minister*, i.

²¹ The Office for the Community & Voluntary Sector, *Briefing to the incoming minister*, i.

voluntary sector' will be used to describe local and national organisations, which are separate from the government, are non-profit-distributing (although they may make a profit), and voluntary in the sense that participation in their activity is not compulsory.

A body of work has been developed looking at the community and voluntary sector in New Zealand. Studies like Margaret Tennant, Mike O'Brien, and Jackie Sanders' *The History of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand* considers the forces and players that have shaped the non-profit sector in New Zealand over time.²² However, little information on the advocacy activities of organisations within this sector is available. Sue Elliott and David Haigh's paper "Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector: 'Nothing stands by itself'," is the one of the first paper's that looks specifically at the advocacy function of organisations in the community and voluntary sector. This paper examines the changing kinds of advocacy activities that the not-for-profit sector organisations are involved in, the language they use to describe their advocacy and the reasons they give for the strategies they adopt. The majority of literature on advocacy work in New Zealand during the second half of the twentieth century focuses on large social movements such as the rights of women, Māori as *Tangata Whenua*, as well as the rights of disabled persons.²³ Little work, however, has been done specifically on older person's advocacy in New Zealand.

'Advocacy' is a word that originated in ancient Rome and Greece in a legal setting, although in a manner differing from its use in modern times.²⁴ It is now used at a governmental, local, professional and community level. Advocacy has been defined as pleading for, defending or recommending in favour of a proposal or cause.²⁵ Advocacy as a concept gained importance during the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s in both the West and New Zealand. Since this time, multiple definitions of advocacy have been developed. Advocacy, as defined in this thesis, is a practice that describes actions that support or empower individuals or groups.²⁶

²² See: Margaret Tennant, Jackie Sanders, Michael O'Brien and Charlotte Castle, *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: New Zealand*, no. 45 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Center for Civil Society Studies, 2006).

²³ Margaret Tennant, Mike O'Brien, and Jackie Sanders, *The History of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand* (Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2008), 19.

²⁴ E. W. Timberlake, "Origin and Development of Advocacy as a Profession," *Virginia Law Review* 9, no. 1 (1922): 25.

²⁵ Merriam Webster Dictionary, "Advocacy," accessed August 3, 2019. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/advocacy>.

²⁶ Jean Drage, "New Zealand's National Health and Disability Advocacy Service: A successful model of advocacy," *Health and Human Rights* 14, no. 1 (2012): 53.

This thesis contributes to the growing number of histories focusing on ageing and old age. In particular looking at the advocacy activities of Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA. The activities of the NZRSA have been detailed in a number of publications, however few publications examine their work with older veterans during the 1980s and 1990s, if so only in passing.²⁷ Like the NZRSA, while identified by many publications as being important services for older people, details of Age Concern and Grey Power's advocacy work have only been superficially explored. One unpublished PhD thesis, Omar Hamed's *A Social Movement History of Public Opposition to New Zealand's Health Reforms, 1988-1999*, includes a chapter titled "Revolt of the Elderly" that is dedicated to examining Grey Power's involvement in lobbying against hospital closures and income and asset testing between 1993-2005. This thesis highlights a much-neglected area of New Zealand history by arguing that the period from 1970 to 2001 was a time when older people in New Zealand found their political voice. This thesis cements Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA as integral parts of the lives of older people in New Zealand during the 1970s and 1980s. The changes explored culminate in the formation of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* in 2001. The adoption of positive ageing constructs in New Zealand has not been fully explored. Judith Davey and Kathy Glasgow's paper "Positive Ageing – A Critical Analysis," provides a brief yet comprehensive examination on the adoption of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* (2001). William Edwards thesis, "Taupaenui Māori Positive Ageing," explores the Māori experience of positive ageing and details how this differs from Pākehā experiences. This thesis aims to add to this discussion, focusing on the role Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA played in the adoption of positive ageing language within the community and state, and their role in the development of this strategy. This thesis adds to the growing body of research on ageing and old age in New Zealand.

While the source material used in this thesis covers a range of important information including the focus of the organisation, the different ways that each group advocated, internal communication and external communication with other organisations and the state, there are limitations of this material. For many community and voluntary organisations, including the ones studied, the detail of information recorded depended on who the secretary was at the time. The storage and filing of material also resulted in discrepancies in information kept.

²⁷ See: Stephen Clarke, *After the War: The RSA in New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2016).; Peter Cooke, *All formed up: a history of Wellington Returned & Services' Association, 1916-2007* (Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2008).

This led to an inability to get a consistent and full picture of the activities and focuses of each organisation consistently over the period of time being studied. The source materials also did not engage with all the different experiences of ageing in New Zealand. Information specifically focusing on Māori, Pacifica and migrant experiences of ageing did not feature in the material examined. The NZRSA focused on the issues of their members, which included older male veterans. Grey Power were also responsive to their members, who were predominately Pākehā and male. Age Concern had larger engagement within their local communities, however they still predominately focused on Pākehā issues.

The first chapter explores the complex mix of societal, economic, and political factors in New Zealand during the 1970s and 1980s that caused older people to organise and assert themselves politically in ways never seen before. The analysis of the founding documents and early meeting minutes of national organisations such as the National Old People's Welfare Council (later known as Age Concern) established in 1973, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation (later known as Grey Power) founded in 1986, and the documentation related to the refocusing of the NZRSA during the 1980s, give insights into the pressing factors that resulted in their emergence as advocates for older people in New Zealand during the 1970s and 1980s. Urbanisation and women entering the workforce in increasing numbers caused a dramatic change in family dynamics from the 1970s, which had a significant impact on eldercare. Despite the government continuing to view the family as primarily responsible for caring for their older relatives, changes to family dynamics resulted in the government supporting those in the community and voluntary sector to provide services to older people. In particular, increased health in later life, women entering the workforce, and changes made to superannuation drove older people, mostly the 'young-old', aged between 60 to 75, to organise and establish groups that could help meet their needs and the needs of those older than them. The government supported the establishment of a national Old People's Welfare Council to coordinate the wide range of services for older people. Conversely, older person's advocacy groups also formed in response to either a lack of action on issues that older people faced, or changes made to entitlements that many older people felt infringed on their rights. Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA became the main groups advocating for older people's needs and lobbying the government on issues that affected older people in New Zealand during the 1970s and 2000s. Beginning the thesis with the historical context of the development of older person's advocacy services in New Zealand provides an account of the position of older people in New Zealand society during the 1970s

and 1980s which is important to grasp to understand why there was a need for advocacy groups to develop.

The second chapter focuses on the changing relationship between the state and the community and voluntary sector, looking specifically at the Age Concern, Grey Power, and the NZRSA. It tracks the relationship between the state and community and voluntary sector during the height of the 'welfare state' and through the number of transformative changes made by the introduction of neoliberal reforms by the Fourth Labour government in the late 1980s. Most significant was the changes made to the provision of services, specifically health, home and personal care and social services that resulted in it moving to a contract-based system of funding. A deterioration of the relationship between the community and voluntary sector and the government followed. The relationship between the state and community and voluntary groups continued to decline into the 1990s, until the government identified the need to start rebuilding the relationship. The examination of correspondence between Age Concern, the NZRSA and various ministries in the New Zealand government between the 1970s and 1990s was one source used to demonstrate the changing relationship and the impact it had on the work these groups did. This material identified several differences in the experiences of organisations who relied on government funding and contracts, and those who were self-funded. The analysis of press releases, publications and meeting minutes revealed Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA's opinions on governmental action, and also illustrated the different methods these groups used to gain public awareness and support to help with their aims of advocating for older people.

The third chapter investigates the emergence of the 'positive ageing' discourse in New Zealand and its adoption in policy. The term 'discourse' is being used in a general sense in this thesis, by looking broadly at the national and international discussion related to the concept 'positive ageing'. The positive ageing discourse is explored in its relation to the adoption of neoliberal ideas and reforms in New Zealand during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Neoliberal ideas did not only impact the relationship between community and voluntary organisations who advocated for older people and the government, they also impacted the relationship the government had with older people and ideas about ageing, old age and human value. The attempt to seemingly reintroduce nineteenth century ideas of the 'deserving poor' by the state created a new sense of stigma about the receipt of benefits. Eligibility and rates of superannuation were examined and reexamined in both the political

and public sphere during the 1980s and 1990s, which saw the state and society determine whether older people were ‘deserving’ of help. The framing of older people as ‘unproductive’ and a ‘burden’ on resources also resulted in the state re-examining how older people could age better, especially as the effects of population ageing began to be felt during the late 1990s. International research and policy on population ageing was examined in relation to global ideas associated with ageing and old age, and its impact on national policy implemented in New Zealand. A range ageing discourses emerged during this time that contributed to the emergence of the discourse of positive ageing. These discourses contained a range of strands that covered political, community and medial ideas about ageing and old age. The ideas expressed in policy manifestos and publications from organisations such as Age Concern and Grey Power were also analysed to see the influence these groups had in the adoption of a positive ageing construct that influenced how the government would look at ageing and attempt to deal with population ageing. The study of governmental reports, inquiries, task forces and strategic plans during the mid-to-late 1990s explains how and why the New Zealand government adopted a ‘positive ageing’ discourse. The development of new state ‘infrastructure’ relating to ageing which included the formation of ministries, task forces and strategic plans to some extent embedded Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA in state relationships. This all peaked with the introduction of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* in 2001.

Chapter one - Advocating for themselves: The beginning of older persons' advocacy in New Zealand

The large number of rights-based movements during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in the concept of advocacy gaining importance as a reasonably new approach to social intervention.²⁸ Protest movements which focused on civil and human rights emerged worldwide during the 1960s and 1970s. These movements challenged social injustice and promoted individual rights and acceptance of difference, particularly in relation to race and gender.²⁹ Protests that gained global media attention included the civil rights movement in the United States, women's rights movements, disability rights movements, and homosexuality rights movements. These international rights movements also influenced similar movements in New Zealand.³⁰ Māori rights, women's rights, homosexual rights, and disability rights movements developed, petitioning and lobbying the government for recognition and acceptance of their own rights and values within the state. These new groups embodied the rising social, cultural and political diversity in New Zealand.³¹ Older people were no different. An older woman, for example, could identify with the Woman's Rights movement, and kaumātua were able to identify with *Tangata Whenua* and other Māori movements, however these movements did not fully capture the experiences of older people within New Zealand. Despite many older people developing disabling conditions as they aged, they were not well represented in the disability rights movement, nor legislation created as a result of this movement.³² This was in part, because many older people considered developing a form of disability as a 'normal' part of ageing and did not fully identify with the experience of younger people living with a disability.³³ Older people were considered as part of a unique group with inherent difficulties that did not fit with other popular movements

²⁸ Drage, "New Zealand's National Health and Disability Advocacy Service," 54.

²⁹ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152.

³⁰ Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, "Rights and Revitalisation, 1970-1990," in *Tangata whenua: an illustrated history*, ed. Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, Aroha Harris, (Wellington: Bridget Willas Books, 2014), 1-2.

³¹ James Mitchell, "Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand," (PhD diss., University of Otago, 2003), 171.

³² Silvia Perel-Levin, "Stigma, dementia and age," in *World Alzheimer Report 2019: Attitudes to dementia*, (London: Alzheimer's Disease International, 2019), 91.; See: New Zealand Ministry of Health and New Zealand Disability Strategy, *The New Zealand Disability Strategy: Making a World of Difference = Whakanui Oranga* (Wellington: Ministry of Health, 2001).

³³ Perel-Levin, "Stigma, dementia and age," 91.

during this time.³⁴ As a result, there was a growth of groups that specifically focused on advocating for older people in New Zealand.³⁵

From the 1970s, it was no longer solely doctors, nurses, and social workers speaking on behalf of older people; organisations of older people were standing up for themselves.³⁶ National organisations such as the National Old People's Welfare Council (later Age Concern), the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation (later Grey Power), and the New Zealand Returned Servicemen's Association (NZRSA) emerged as the main groups advocating for older peoples' needs and lobbying the government on issues that affected older people in New Zealand during this period.³⁷ This emergence of older people as lobbyists and advocates for their own rights during the 1970s and 1980s was the result of a complex mix of societal, economic, and political factors. The 1970s and 1980s was a time of great social upheaval in New Zealand that disrupted previous social norms and witnessed societal ideas and practices challenge the ideas of the governing elite.³⁸ There were a number of factors that impacted older people specifically that caused the growth of advocacy services looking after their interests and needs. Demographic changes in New Zealand during the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the beginning of a 'greying' of the nation. Family life was also changing. Younger people, especially young Māori, moved from rural into urban areas away from older family members. The idea that the family would take care of older people was further strained post war as women began to question their role as primary carers, not just for children, but for older family members.³⁹ As more women moved into part- or full-time paid employment they left behind this caring role, however there was a growing need. The government looked to the community and volunteer sector to pass on some responsibility for community need and welfare in the area of older people's services in

³⁴ Russell Morgan and Sam David, "Human Rights: A New Language for Aging Advocacy," *The Gerontologist* 42, no. 4 (2002): 436.

³⁵ R. A. Barker, F. M. Caughey and M. W. Guthrie ed., *Ageing New Zealanders: A Report to the world assembly on Ageing 1982* (Wellington: Department of Health, 1982), 2.; Morgan and David, "Human Rights," 436.; See also Peggy Koopman-Boyden ed., *New Zealand's ageing society: the implications* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993).

³⁶ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152.

³⁷ The National Old People's Welfare Council changed its name to Age Concern in 1991; the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation changes its name to Grey Power in 1989.

³⁸ Drage, "New Zealand's National Health and Disability Advocacy Service," 54.

³⁹ See: Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow, "Feminism and Gay Rights," in *Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014).; Maud Cahill and Christine Dann, *Changing our lives: women working in the women's liberation movement, 1970-1990* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991).

particular.⁴⁰ In addition to these societal changes, economic challenges during the 1970s and 1980s called into question the sustainability of the welfare state. One particular focus was New Zealand Superannuation.⁴¹ New Zealand's national identity was being altered and various social groups were left to fight for recognition from the state, including groups advocating for older people.⁴² From the 1970s, older people began to organise and politically assert themselves in ways never seen before in New Zealand.

During the second half of the twentieth century, particularly from the 1980s, New Zealand experienced a notable increase in population of those over the age of 60. This phenomenon was not only felt in New Zealand, but also the rest of the developed world. Advances in medicine during the twentieth century reduced mortality rates, allowing for more people to reach old age.⁴³ This did not mean that older people would live significantly longer than previous generations, however, there was an expectation that older people would be fitter and maintain their independence for much longer.⁴⁴ This allowed older people to begin to challenge preconceived notions of being frail, sick and without value. Negative perceptions of old age and ageing were both internalised by older people as well as externalised by the media, government policies, laws, regulations and other influential people in the community.⁴⁵ Ageist attitudes persisted throughout society, especially regarding health and older people in the workforce. Older people were often referred to as a 'burden' on healthcare services. Up until the mid-1980s, New Zealand had had one of the highest rates of rest-home residency in the Western World.⁴⁶ The expansion of institutional care did not help dispel negative perceptions of the dependency of older people. However, those who entered institutions were only a small percentage of older people.⁴⁷ The term 'ageism' was coined in 1969 by Robert N. Butler and was defined as "prejudice by one age group toward other age

⁴⁰ Peggy Koopman-Boyden and Claudia Scott, *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 143.

⁴¹ Koopman-Boyden and Scott, *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand*, 166.

⁴² Mitchell, "Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand," 105.

⁴³ Graham Elkin, "Ageism in the 'Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise': Will she be right?" Department of Management Working paper series 96/07 (Dunedin: University of Otago, 1996), 1.

⁴⁴ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 8.

⁴⁵ J Turnbull, "Attitudes of Older People," 17.; New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 18.

⁴⁶ Swarbrick, "Care and carers."

⁴⁷ Graham Davidson, "Facts and Fiction about Ageing and the Elderly," in *Ageing New Zealanders: A Report to the world assembly on Ageing 1982*, ed. R. A. Barker, F. M. Caughey and M. W. Guthrie (Wellington: Department of Health, 1982), 5.

groups”.⁴⁸ During the 1980s, discrimination on the basis of age, otherwise known as ageism was “as prevalent and as insidious as sexism and racism”.⁴⁹ The origins of negative attitudes towards older people in New Zealand have been traced back to settler society, with Davidson posing the question “was a society without grandparents destined to become an ageist society?”.⁵⁰ Although Davidson was referring to Australia, New Zealand’s similar beginnings lends itself to this argument. On the other hand, negative attitudes towards old age and ageing have been, and remain, deeply rooted in global history.⁵¹ Settlers may have brought these already formed ideas about old age and aging with them from their country of origin, which may explain why Pākehā ideas about ageing differed so considerably with Māori and Pacific cultures. Despite this, the prevalence of ageism in New Zealand denied many older people their essential needs.⁵² The growing percentage of older people and the persistence of ageism amplified the need for more services that catered to their needs and worked towards eradicating ageism.

The growth of volunteer agencies in New Zealand during the 1960s and 1970s, especially those whose primary focus was on the care of older people, was noted in the *Report of the Board of Health Committee on Care of the Aged in New Zealand*.⁵³ Voluntary agencies usually developed when and where a perceived need was not being adequately met by either government or private individuals.⁵⁴ From being a supplemental service, volunteer services became a necessity. As well as noting the growth of voluntary services over the 1950s and 1960s *Care of the Aged in New Zealand* also discussed the “recognition and acceptance by the statutory bodies and organisations of the integral place of voluntary effort in their own work”.⁵⁵ Early pensioners’ associations were focused on social interaction rather than political pressure. These groups offered an opportunity for older people in the community to meet in an informal setting and build social connections with one another. Religious

⁴⁸ Andrew W. Achenbaum, "A History of Ageism since 1969," *Generations* 39, no. 3 (2015):10.; See also R. N. Butler, "Age-ism: Another Form of Bigotry," *The Gerontologist* 9, no. 4 (1969): 243–246.

⁴⁹ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 18.

⁵⁰ Graham Davidson, ““Our Youth is Spent and our Backs are Bent”: The Origins of Australian Ageism,” *Australian Cultural History*, 14 (1995): 59.

⁵¹ Achenbaum, "A History of Ageism since 1969," 10.

⁵² Essential needs are defined as being health, work, money and dignity.; Davidson, “Facts and Fiction about Ageing and the Elderly,” 5-7.

⁵³ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*.

⁵⁴ W.R.A. Lake, “Voluntary Agencies: Their Contributions to the Welfare of the Elderly,” in *Ageing New Zealanders: A Report to the world assembly on Ageing 1982*, ed. R. A. Barker, F. M. Caughey and M. W. Guthrie (Wellington: Department of Health, 1982), 59.

⁵⁵ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 79.

organisations, care and craft groups, Rural Women New Zealand, and community houses provided opportunities for older people to build connections in their community. The promotion of social networks and involvement with older people locally in an informal situation before 1970 proved useful for the later development of advocacy work in older people's organisations. Beginning in the 1960s, groups that worked closely with the community adopted advocacy as either another branch of their services, or their main purpose.⁵⁶ This was the case for the emergence of the National Old People's Welfare Council of New Zealand, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, and the NZRSA.

Societal changes during the second half of the twentieth century had a large impact on the lives of older people in New Zealand and resulted in the development of an important advocacy group, the National Old People's Welfare Council of New Zealand. The National Old People's Welfare Council of New Zealand was formed in 1972 after a recommendation was made by the Board of Health Committee in *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*.⁵⁷ This report was commissioned by the government to give recommendations to the Minister of Health to assist in determining and administering policy. While the creators of the report did not wish it to be a "blueprint" for the care of the aged, the report gave a broad overview of the main challenges facing care of the aged in New Zealand at this time and made recommendations to help better meet the needs of older people.⁵⁸ One of the report's primary aims was to "stimulate an enlightened interest in the needs of the aged".⁵⁹ This was important as there were a number of changes in society, including urbanisation, protest movements, and the growth of intergenerational conflict that resulted in traditional supports for older people to fragment and disappear. This made room for the growth of community and volunteer groups whose main focus was older people's needs.

At the time the National Old Person Welfare Council was established, New Zealand society was beginning to become more fragmented. James Mitchell explains in his thesis "Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand" that in many Western nations, the 1970s was a time where "unified and unitary notions" of identity gave way to

⁵⁶ Margaret Tennant, "Two to Tango: The Partnership Between Charity and the Welfare State in New Zealand 1940-1970," *New Zealand Journal of History* 42, no. 1 (2008): 16.

⁵⁷ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 83.

⁵⁸ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 86.

⁵⁹ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 86.

politicisation and debate.⁶⁰ In New Zealand, this change centred on urbanisation. New Zealand had historically been a rural nation and sold itself to the rest of the world as a rural paradise. At the turn of the twentieth century just under 60 percent of New Zealanders lived in rural areas.⁶¹ By the 1970s an ‘urban drift’ had occurred that made urban areas more populous than rural. Younger people chose to move away from their parents to start new families of their own. The heaviest concentration of older people tended to be in the urban areas, or in areas where there was “desirable climatic conditions”.⁶² This reflected the availability of health and community services and also the intention of some older people to remain close to family support and friends. No longer did three-generations of family live together nor could they fit into modern housing.⁶³ These housing changes created a small but significant disconnect between generations which resulted in some older people reach out to community and voluntary groups for social interaction and assistance.

Post-war migration also caused urban areas to become bicultural with initially young Māori looking for a more modern life, choosing to move from their iwi’s land into urban areas from the 1950s.⁶⁴ Moving into cities was the first time many Māori came into close contact with Pākehā. Initially there was a determination by many Pākehā to discourage the migration. However, after the Hunn Report of 1961, the government came to realize that the economic future of most Māori lay in urban areas, so made the urbanisation of Māori an official policy.⁶⁵ Between 1950 and 1986 approximately 80 percent of Māori had relocated from their tribal homelands into urban areas.⁶⁶ This had a monumental impact on Māori social structures. The geographical distance between those who decided to remain in their tribal lands and their urban relatives reduced whanau cohesion.⁶⁷ Like Māori, Pākehā families also experienced a fracturing of family networks due to urbanisation. As mostly young people moved into urban areas, older people were sometimes left without intergenerational support. The geographical distance between them and their children or grandchildren made it difficult

⁶⁰Mitchell, “Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand,” iii.

⁶¹ Stats NZ, “New Zealand: An Urban/Rural Profile - Historical Context,” accessed July 8, 2018. http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/Maps_and_geography/Geographic-areas/urban-rural-profile/historical-context.aspx.

⁶² Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 19.

⁶³ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 9.

⁶⁴ Paul Meredith, “Urban Māori: Urbanisation,” accessed August 1, 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-1>.

⁶⁵ Meredith, “Urban Māori: Urbanisation.”

⁶⁶ Meredith, “Urban Māori: Urbanisation.”

⁶⁷ Edwards, “Taupaenui Māori Positive Ageing,” 10.

to rely on familial support networks. This lack of family support coupled with trends towards centralisation of health and community services left both Māori and Pākehā older people living in rural areas isolated to some extent.⁶⁸ Support for rural kaumātua came from their local marae, where those who had decided to remain in their tribal lands shouldered much of the responsibility for care.⁶⁹ Kaumātua migrating to urban areas was not a high priority for government or voluntary agencies, despite this, the “irresistible urge” to be close to children and *mokopuna* (grandchildren) meant that many older Māori followed their younger family members to urban areas.⁷⁰ Very few older Māori chose to move into old people’s homes, and those that did often had a lifelong association with the Pākehā population.⁷¹ For those who did decide to move into urban areas, churches were a great connector for kaumātua, as was the emergence of urban Māori organisations like the Māori Women’s Welfare League which were involved in care and wellbeing. Urban maraes also developed kaumātua residences and facilitated kaumātua activities and groups towards the end of the twentieth century.

When the National Older People’s Welfare Council emerged, there were calls to set up a separate provision for the welfare of older Māori. There were concerns that organisations such as the National Old People’s Welfare Council were not so effective for Māori as they were for Pākehā older people.⁷² Creating separate groups for Māori was viewed by politicians as “not good policy”.⁷³ It undermined their notions of equality and integration at a time when they were focusing on the migration of Māori into cities. In addition, some Māori challenged the whole concept of volunteering. Notions of working for others and having a choice about such matters did not fit with Māori notions of cultural obligation and sharing within whanau.⁷⁴ The groups that did emerge during this time, like the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation stated that they advocated for the needs of all older people. As their national president noted in 1990, older people now “have an advocate, someone to turn to, someone to plead their case, irrespective of race, creed or colour, and above individual

⁶⁸ Sally Keeling, “Relative distance: ageing in rural New Zealand,” *Ageing and Society* 21 (2001): 606.

⁶⁹ Edwards, “Taupaenui Māori Positive Ageing,” 11.

⁷⁰ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152; Wiremu Parker, “The Elderly in Maori Society,” in *Ageing New Zealanders: A Report to the world assembly on Ageing 1982*, ed. R. A. Barker, F. M. Caghey and M. W. Guthrie (Wellington: Department of Health, 1982), 13.

⁷¹ Parker, “The Elderly in Maori Society,” 12.

⁷² Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152.

⁷³ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 153.

⁷⁴ Michael Belgrave, “Needs and the State: evolving social policy in New Zealand history,” in *Past Judgement: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, eds. Bronwyn Dally and Margaret Tennant (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004), 39.

persuasion”.⁷⁵ However, as a result of these cultural differences, Māori were not well represented in this voluntary activity during this time. Volunteer agencies whose main focus was the care of older people were primarily Pākehā based and predominately concentrated in urban areas where the number of older people was high. Groups for kaumātua and older Pākehā were characteristically separate.

From the mid-1970s New Zealand, like other Western nations, experienced a decline in fertility.⁷⁶ Firstly, from 1970, women were able to access effective contraceptives which made it easy for people to control their fertility, thus limiting family size.⁷⁷ Secondly, this drop in fertility also coincided with Women’s Rights movements and public debate about contraception, abortion, and women’s participation in all aspects of public life.⁷⁸ Another factor that played a part in the drop in fertility was the declining sense of crisis post-war. During this time, Western consumer society developed, and wealth increased, which brought about free education and more opportunities. More women sought higher education which resulted in more opportunities in the workforce and lower birth rates.⁷⁹ Declining fertility was also accompanied by an increase in the variety of family types. Traditional notions of family were being increasingly questioned. By mid-1970, more women were raising children on their own, although still only a small percentage. The Matrimonial Property Act of 1976 and access by sole parents not in paid work to a Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) from 1973 made separation, divorce and single parenthood financially possible for many women for the first time.⁸⁰ Women also began to question their role in family life, including their perceived role as primary caregiver. Access to higher education and new work opportunities meant that more women were challenging their role within the family. This fragmentation of the family unit had a large impact on the care of the elderly.

The Government’s view was that the family should retain the basic responsibility for the care of its older members wherever possible.⁸¹ This view had legislative background in New

⁷⁵ Ray Cody, “Our Work Has Just Begun,” *Maturity Today* 1, no. 2 December (1990): 4.

⁷⁶ Tennant, “Needs and the State,” 26.

⁷⁷ Ian Pool and Rosemary Du Plessis, “Families: a history,” accessed August 2, 2018.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/families-a-history>.

⁷⁸ Pool and Du Plessis, “Families: a history.”

⁷⁹ Øystein Kravdal and Ronald R. Rindfuss. "Changing Relationships between Education and Fertility: A Study of Women and Men Born 1940 to 1964," *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 5 (2008): 867.

⁸⁰ Pool and Du Plessis, “Families: a history.”

⁸¹ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 12-13.

Zealand's early history through the *Destitute Persons Relief Ordinance* (1846), which made close relatives of a destitute person and illegitimate children liable for their support, and the subsequent *Destitute Person's Act* (1877), which allowed for the court to recover any debts incurred by local or governmental bodies for maintaining a destitute person from relatives.⁸² In 1956, the Director General of Health stated that "[t]he principle on which the Government's policy is based is that as far as possible old people should be cared for by their friends and relatives".⁸³ The extent of care needed can be seen in the 1992-1993 Health Survey, which showed that 86 percent of people 75 years of age and over had some type of disability or long term impairment, diagnosed as having lasted for over six months.⁸⁴ Many older people developed a disability which caused them to become unable to maintain an adequate standard of living, resulting in them needing support.⁸⁵ More often than not, that caring role fell to women. Traditionally, women did not only care for their own parents, but the responsibility fell on them to care for their husband's parents as well. Both childcare and elder care burdened many women. There was a growing number of women who were unable to consider paid employment because of their elder care responsibility.⁸⁶ Caring for children and older people is a form of unpaid work, although rarely recognised as such due to entrenched gender roles and the low value placed upon this type of work. In the 1969-70 government budget, provisions were made to help support working women by providing accessible childcare.⁸⁷ This highlighted a significant change in the government's stance on the need for such services and on supporting women into the workplace. Even with this change, women did not receive such support for eldercare. As more women entered the workforce, care of dependent older people fell to the community which experienced a growth of services for older people. This transition did not necessarily overlap. In the short term there was a greater level of neglect, especially in rural areas where the establishment of voluntary and community groups was limited. Older people who had some economic security had options available to them if needed, like hiring private nurses and home help. Those who

⁸² New Zealand Parliament, An Ordinance for the Support of Destitute Families and Illegitimate Children, *10 Victoriae*, no. 9 (1846): 213.; New Zealand Parliament, Destitute Person's Act, *41 Victoriae*, no. 44 (1877): 334.

⁸³ Director General of Health, *Annual Report of the Director-General of Health for year ending 31 March 1956* (Wellington: Govt. Print., 1956), H. 31.

⁸⁴ Judith Davey, *Tracking Social Change in New Zealand: From birth to death iv*, (Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, 1998), 214.

⁸⁵ Morgan and David, "Human Rights," 436.

⁸⁶ Elkin, "Ageism in the 'Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise'," 5.

⁸⁷ Kerry Pollock, "Early childhood education and care: Government support, 1940s to 1970s," accessed October 2, 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/early-childhood-education-and-care/page-2>.

did not depend on the help of community and voluntary organisations. The growth of voluntary organisations concentrating on many different aspects of care of the aged saw a marked increase from the 1960s.⁸⁸

Voluntary organisations depended on a pool of people who could give time to and have concern for community welfare. Up until the 1970s, the voluntary sector had primarily looked to women as people who had the time to volunteer. With the introduction of women to full and part-time employment this pool became “shallow” in some places.⁸⁹ As mentioned above, New Zealand was experiencing a growth in population of those over 60. With the retirement age set at 65 with the introduction of the *Old Age Pension Act* in 1898, then lowered to 60 in 1977, there was a large group of people able to give their time to just causes. This was especially true as until 1999, retirement at 65 or 60, was often compulsory.⁹⁰ This allowed independent older people, or the ‘young-old’, to step into these volunteering roles, which in turn, helped grow volunteer organisations whose focus was on older people’s needs. It was also the ‘young-old’ who were the group that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s to advocate in organisations such as the National Old People’s Welfare Council of New Zealand, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, and the NZRSA. Their membership consisted of active, often well-educated and well-informed older people who wanted their views to be heard. The ‘young-old’ not only advocated for their peers, but also those defined as ‘old-old’ who were more dependent on the state for care. Those who held positions of influence in the National Old People’s Welfare Council, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, and the NZRSA were Pākehā mainly male and from well-educated backgrounds who had the skills, time and resources to advocate. In comparison, the older people who were the focus of advocacy were often those who did not have the same resources. This indicates a hierarchical difference within these organisations in terms of class between advocates and those being advocated for. This hierarchical difference could also be looked at in terms of dependence between the older people who were able to advocate, and those who were unable and therefore dependent on others to advocate for them.

⁸⁸ W.H. Oliver, “Social Policy in New Zealand: An Historical Overview,” in *The April report* (Wellington: New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988), 42.

⁸⁹ Lake, “Voluntary Agencies,” 61.

⁹⁰ Human Rights Commission, *Age and Retirement in the Public Service: Legal and human resource implications of the abolition of compulsory retirement* (Wellington: State Services Commission, 1998), 3.

For those older people who required support because of the lack or inability of their family to care for them, the government increasingly relied on the community acting through religious, charitable and various community and voluntary organisations.⁹¹ There were some domains that the public thought should remain under government control, however the public viewed religious organisations in particular, as trusted places that could provide services for vulnerable older people.⁹² In 1950 the Government introduced a policy of assisting religious and welfare organisations to establish homes and hospital for the elderly in need of residential care to cut down the need for state run hospital boards to provide this care.⁹³ This level of state assistance was on a much larger scale than ever experienced by the volunteer sector. The government framed this funding under the rhetoric of partnership between the state and the volunteer sector.⁹⁴ This move was supported by the hospital boards as they wanted to be rid of their geriatric beds. During the 1970s and 1980s, religious institutions could no longer be the sole providers of care for older people as the number of religious personnel began to decline in New Zealand and Australia.⁹⁵ This decline coincided with more women entering paid work. Although more women were entering the workforce, this did not mean they were entering jobs in male dominated fields. Women have historically been allocated duties that involve the embodied practices that are often associated with selflessness and ideal womanhood.⁹⁶ These allocated duties carried over into the workplace which resulted in women entering 'female' occupations. Job related skills were not treated as such, but rather qualities fundamental to women, which is why caring roles, including nursing were seen as 'women's work'.⁹⁷ Women continued to be the primary carers of older people even after entering the workforce. During the 1970s, private facilities also began to benefit from governmental assistance as well, however there was little public support for these organisations as the public viewed these facilities as being more focused on profit-making than care.⁹⁸ This expansion of institutional care for older people continued well into the 1980s, and resulted in New Zealand having one of the highest rates of rest-home

⁹¹ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 12-13.

⁹² Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 147.

⁹³ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 147.

⁹⁴ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 147.

⁹⁵ Richard Rymarz, "Religious Vocations Today," *Australasian Catholic Record* 93, no. 3 (2016): 278.

⁹⁶ Caroline Gatrell, *Embodying Women's Work* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2008;2007), 100-101.

⁹⁷ See: Annette Huntington, "Women's Work," *Nursing New Zealand* 2, no. 3 (1994): 20-22.

⁹⁸ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 153.

residency in the western world.⁹⁹ This trend was also encouraged by a lack of home support services.¹⁰⁰

Co-ordinating and improving co-operation among these groups was a task that the report *Care of the Aged in New Zealand* said would best suit the National Old People's Welfare Council.¹⁰¹ The importance of this was stressed by the report, which stated that a wide variety of statutory and voluntary agencies were becoming involved to a considerable extent in the housing, accommodation, and care of the elderly, and there was a need for someone to facilitate a relationship between all the disparate groups.¹⁰² The report called for the government to encourage and support the establishment of a national Old People's Welfare Council in New Zealand.¹⁰³ The formation of the National Old People's Welfare Council also came at a time when the government began requiring branches of voluntary organisations to federate.¹⁰⁴ This allowed the government to simplify their communication and funding of voluntary and community sector services to a single national agency, instead of, as previously multiple regional councils.¹⁰⁵

The NZRSA had also benefitted from a close relationship with the government and a general sense of public support. Although not emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, during this time the NZRSA began to focus on advocacy and welfare for older veterans. The NZRSA was formed in New Zealand in 1916 by returning World War I ANZAC Soldiers to provide support and comfort for service men and women and their families.¹⁰⁶ The NZRSA continuously lobbied the government and kept the interests of WWI and WWII servicemen in front of the public and politicians.¹⁰⁷ During the 1930s, after seeing a lack of support services for WWI veterans, the NZRSA set up the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment League. Margaret Tennant

⁹⁹ Swarbrick, "Care and carers."

¹⁰⁰ David Richmond, Jonathan Baskett, Ruth Bonita, Pam Melding, *Care for Older People in New Zealand: A report to The National Advisory Committee on Core Health and Disability Support Services* (Wellington: The Committee, 1995), 13-14.

¹⁰¹ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 14.

¹⁰² Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 14.

¹⁰³ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 85.

¹⁰⁴ Jackie Sanders, Mike O'Brien, Margaret Tennant, S. Wojciech Sokolowski and Lester M. Salamon, *The New Zealand Non-profit Sector in Comparative Perspective* (Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2008), 25.

¹⁰⁵ Sanders et al., *The New Zealand Non-profit Sector in Comparative Perspective*, 25.

¹⁰⁶ RSA, "About the RSA," accessed August 26, 2018. <https://www.rsa.org.nz/about-the-rsa>.

¹⁰⁷ Cooke, *All formed up*, 158.

noted that “the RSA was the initiator, and the government the follower”.¹⁰⁸ The “partnership” rhetoric given by the government for their relationship with volunteer services was taken one step further with the NZRSA after the Second World War, with the NZRSA becoming a monopoly provider of certain services for returned servicemen as well as for civilians.¹⁰⁹ However, changing ideas about national identity brought about partly as a result of urbanisation and changes in family life as described above, had an effect on New Zealand’s foreign policy and economy which threatened the NZRSA’s favoured position during the 1970s.

The status of the NZRSA went through a period of dramatic change after World War II and again during the late 1970s. New Zealand’s foreign policy post-World War II increasingly focused on the Asia-Pacific region. In 1951, New Zealand signed the ANZUS treaty with Australia and the United States which contained a commitment to common action against armed attack on any of the signatories in the Pacific area.¹¹⁰ It was believed that New Zealand’s long-term security depended on sustaining their ANZUS alliance. As well as this, the treaty was also useful in sustaining their own nation interests of a strategy of “forward defense” in this region.¹¹¹ Up until the 1960s, the public had little to do with the development of New Zealand’s foreign policy, nor did they have much knowledge of it.¹¹² Foreign policy was developed by a small number of ministers and officials. However, public interest in this topic swelled, triggered specifically by concern over New Zealand’s involvement in the Vietnam War.¹¹³ Despite the practical concerns about becoming involved in a conflict which government saw little chance of success, the decision to get involved in this conflict was influenced heavily by New Zealand’s alliances, as well as general Cold War concerns of this era.¹¹⁴ In 1962 when New Zealand sent troops to Vietnam, the NZRSA was very vocal in their support. Public support for the Vietnam War was very low, especially among younger people. The war politicised a generation and, as a result, New Zealand’s involvement was the most significant catalyst for large ongoing debate about the “relationship between national

¹⁰⁸ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 100.

¹⁰⁹ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 100.

¹¹⁰ Michael Green, “Foreign policy and diplomatic representation: Alliance diplomacy, 1950s to 1970s,” accessed October 7, 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/foreign-policy-and-diplomatic-representation/page-5>.

¹¹¹ Clarke, *After the War*, 186-187.

¹¹² Green, “Foreign policy and diplomatic representation.”

¹¹³ Green, “Foreign policy and diplomatic representation.”

¹¹⁴ Clarke, *After the War*, 186-187.

identity, security and a more ‘independent’ foreign policy”.¹¹⁵ The NZRSA’s support of New Zealand’s involvement in the Vietnam War was strongly criticised. In letters to newspaper editors, the public urged the NZRSA to “devote more time on welfare, less on warfare”.¹¹⁶ The position was relatively new for the NZRSA, who up until this point was viewed as positively contributing to society. Public protests against the involvement of New Zealand in the Vietnam War grew stronger until the election of a Labour government in 1972 saw the troops withdrawn.¹¹⁷ The NZRSA, like the New Zealand government, no longer felt the broad support from the community which had allowed them to flourish during wartime.¹¹⁸ This caused the NZRSA to rethink their position in society. As their membership aged, their welfare increasingly focused on older people’s needs. During the late 1970s, the NZRSA adopted the motto “People Helping People”, to help refocus the public to the welfare work they were doing.¹¹⁹ This solidified their position as a provider services to older veterans.

Protests movements, like the protest against New Zealand’s participation in the Vietnam War, played out against a backdrop of economic downturn. New Zealand had one of the highest standards of living in the world immediately post World War II, however this began to decline during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1970, economic growth in New Zealand had settled at around 1.5 percent per annum.¹²⁰ The cause of this has been heavily debated. Ruralism, the glorification and focus on the rural way of life, had a big influence on New Zealand’s economy and politics, and as a result economic development before 1970 was largely based on the agricultural sector.¹²¹ Up until the 1960s pastoral products such as meat, butter, cheese and wool were over 90 percent of merchandise exports.¹²² New Zealand’s post-war economy’s reliance on overseas markets and movements was a major contributor to economic downturn.¹²³ New Zealand predominately exported its products to the United Kingdom, with a narrow range of other export destinations. When the United Kingdom entered the European Community in 1973, New Zealand lost its favoured status for exports

¹¹⁵ Clarke, *After the War*, 186-187.

¹¹⁶ Cooke, *All formed up*, 138-139.

¹¹⁷ David Haigh, “Community Development and New Zealand Local Authorities in the 1970s and 1980s,” *New Zealand Sociology* 29, no. 1 (2014): 80.

¹¹⁸ Koopman-Boyden and Scott, *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand*, 139.

¹¹⁹ Clarke, *After the War*, 207.

¹²⁰ Elkin, “Ageism in the ‘Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise’,” 5.

¹²¹ Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments*, 68.

¹²² Brian Easton, “Economic history: External diversification after 1966,” accessed October 7, 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/economic-history/page-10>.

¹²³ Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments*, 80.

and economic turmoil ensued.¹²⁴ New Zealand was forced to diversify their export-driven economy, in terms of both commodities and destination.¹²⁵ Britain's share of New Zealand exports had been approximately 50 percent in 1965; by the end of the 1970s it was less than 15 percent.¹²⁶ New Zealand was one of the three most concentrated exporters in 1965, as defined by the degree to which the country's exports are concentrated on a small number of products and trading partners, but was near average in 1980.¹²⁷ No other country in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) diversified as greatly.¹²⁸ Rising oil price during this decade also compounded economic problems. This diversification also made it clear that there was no cohesion in terms of a national purpose.¹²⁹ The economy too, had an influence on changes to national identity. Looking at wider trans-Tasman economic change, by the late 1970s Australia was starting to look towards Asia as a potential market. With the relaxing of immigration laws, New Zealand too began to see Asia as a profitable trading partner. For the first time New Zealand considered itself as part of Asia.¹³⁰ The external diversification during the 1970s also made market liberalisation increasingly necessary. However, many politicians were reluctant to do so. Robert Muldoon, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance from 1975 to 1984 used controls including freezing wages and prices of goods to try and contain inflation.¹³¹ Controls were used effectively during World War II; however, the conditions had changed.¹³²

By the 1980s the New Zealand public were becoming disillusioned with Prime Minister Muldoon and his economic policies. So, when Muldoon called a snap election in 1984, Labour was brought into office by a landslide victory. When the Labour Party was elected in July 1984 it marked a critical turning point in the style, character and content of New Zealand

¹²⁴ Tennant, et al., *The History of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand*, 19.

¹²⁵ Brian Easton, *The whimpering of the state: Policy after MMP* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 28.

¹²⁶ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Overview," last modified May 9, 2018. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-1970s/overview>.

¹²⁷ Brian Easton, "Towards a Political Economy of New Zealand: the Tectonics of History," Lecture delivered for the 1994 Hocken Annual Lecture, University of Otago, 6 October, 1994, published by the Hocken Library, 1996.

¹²⁸ Brian Easton, "Towards a Political Economy of New Zealand: the Tectonics of History."

¹²⁹ Easton, *The whimpering of the state*, 28

¹³⁰ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, "India–New Zealand Relations in the New Century: A Historical Narrative of Changing Perceptions and Shifting Priorities," *India Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2013): 319.

¹³¹ Adolf Stroombergen, "Prices and inflation," accessed October 22, 2019. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/prices-and-inflation>.

¹³² Easton, "Economic history."

politics in the post-war era.¹³³ This government commenced on a radical programme of economic liberalisation. Economic liberalisation was not uncommon among other Western nations, however the scope and pace in which New Zealand approached it was judged as being more extensive than undertaken in any other developed economy.¹³⁴ New Zealand moved from being one of the most protected state-dominated systems to the other end of the spectrum that included a competitive, open free-market.¹³⁵ All these changes had a large impact all aspects of society, including that of older people's needs. Policy makers began to be somewhat removed from 'pressure groups' such as older people.¹³⁶ Older people had to become more politically assertive if they wanted their views to be heard.

Economic downturn during the 1970s as experienced by other Western countries, had a large effect on social welfare in New Zealand and threatened the 'welfare state'. New Zealand had made a name for itself with its pioneering welfare system. For much of the twentieth century, especially since the Second World War, welfare was expected to encompass an individual's whole life 'from the cradle to the grave'. The *Social Security Act* (1938), introduced by Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage, marked the beginning of the 'welfare state', which was dominated by a welfare provision designed to provide a standard of living "beneath which no person or family was expected to fall".¹³⁷ The intent of this Act was consistent with the current concept of social security as provided for in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. In 1964, the *Social Security Act* "consolidated and amended" the 1938 statute and continued to provide a comprehensive safety net for New Zealanders.¹³⁸ Changes in the political economy often lead to political and social change, which is what happened in New Zealand during the 1970s.¹³⁹ A rise in unemployment during the 1970s meant that more than ever, the government was relying on supplementary benefits or top-ups to address growing

¹³³ Jonathan Boston and Martin Holland, "The Fourth Labour Government: Transforming the Political Agenda," in *The Fourth Labour Government: Radical Politics in New Zealand*, ed. Jonathan Boston and Martin Holland (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1987), 1.

¹³⁴ Elkin, "Ageism in the 'Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise'," 5.

¹³⁵ Jack H. Nagel, "Social Choice in a Pluralitarian Democracy: The Politics of Market Liberalization in New Zealand," *British Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 2 (1998): 223.

¹³⁶ Stephen Levine and Nigel S. Roberts, "Elderly People and the Political Process," in *New Zealand's ageing society: The implications*, ed. Peggy Koopman-Boyden (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993), 251.

¹³⁷ Tony McGurk, *The Unravelling of the Welfare Safety Net: A brief history of the changes to New Zealand's social welfare benefit system from the 1991 benefit cuts to the proposed single core benefit* (Wellington: Caritas, 2008), 8.

¹³⁸ McGurk, *The Unravelling of the Welfare Safety Net*, 8.

¹³⁹ Easton, "Towards a Political Economy of New Zealand: the Tectonics of History."

need, as more people were getting shifted to the “cold fringes of the welfare state”.¹⁴⁰ In addition, an increasingly diverse society called for the welfare state to change to reflect current needs. In particular, there were calls to replace the family-based welfare system with one that emphasised individual rights of citizenship which will be explored in more detail below.¹⁴¹ Up until the 1970s, it seemed as though New Zealand’s welfare system was geared specifically to support young families.¹⁴² This focus on younger people was not new to New Zealand politics and policy. New Zealand’s focus on youth dated back to settler society, when mainly young men, and some women colonized New Zealand.¹⁴³ The emergence of ‘youth culture’ in the 1970s was driven by younger people having increasing financial freedom.¹⁴⁴ It seemed as though older people were not benefitting as much as other cohorts from government assistance. Intergenerational conflict occurred, as both the young and the old fought for the attention of the state, and state services.

In 1969, the government decided to hold a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Social Security. Two issues stimulated this inquiry, firstly the need for social security to review its benefit levels and assess benefit adequacy. Secondly, changes to New Zealander’s lives needed to be accounted for, in particular there was pressure to adapt to changing attitudes to sex and marriage.¹⁴⁵ The report tended to reflect the international position of other social security policies, with the aim being “to ensure that ... everyone is able to enjoy a standard of living much like that of the rest of the community, and thus is able to feel a sense of participation and belonging in the community”.¹⁴⁶ During the early 1970s there were a number of new social conditions that the New Zealand government had to respond to.¹⁴⁷ The *Accident Compensation Act* (1972) saw the introduction of a no-fault system of accident compensation in 1974, the *Treaty of Waitangi Act* (1975) created the Waitangi Tribunal and the DPB, which was introduced to support sole parents who did not work, all sought to address the diverse social issues of this time. Society had changed, so a change in the provision of welfare was a

¹⁴⁰ Margaret McClure, “A Decade of Confusion: The Differing Directions of Social Security and Accident Compensation 1969 – 1979,” *Wellington Law Review* 34, no. 2 (2003): 270.

¹⁴¹ Tennant, “Needs and the State,” 25.

¹⁴² Tennant, “Two to Tango,” 13-14.

¹⁴³ Elkin, “Ageism in the ‘Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise’,” 15.

¹⁴⁴ Mitchell, “Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand,” 171.

¹⁴⁵ McClure, “A Decade of Confusion,” 270.

¹⁴⁶ Thaddeus McCarthy and New Zealand. Royal Commission to Inquire into and Report on Social Security, *Social Security in New Zealand: Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry* (Wellington: Government Print, 1972), 20.

¹⁴⁷ Haigh, “Community Development and New Zealand Local Authorities in the 1970s and 1980s,” 80.

reasonable expectation. However, criticisms of social security continued. While this report viewed social security as a tool to achieve collective welfare, political reforms and various political approaches prevented the implementation of the report's recommendations thus causing New Zealand's provision of welfare to deviate significantly from its original premise as established in 1938.¹⁴⁸

The changes to New Zealand Superannuation exemplify this deviance. In 1898 the New Zealand government introduced the *Old-age Pensions Act* as a means-tested old-age pension for those 65 years and older. This was a small means-tested pension for elderly people with few assets who were of "good moral character".¹⁴⁹ The *Old-age Pensions Act* (1898) established important features of public pensions in New Zealand, including the use of general government spending as opposed to individual contributions, as well as a 'pay as you go' approach to funding. As the pension was provided to those "who were of good character", there was a strong moral underpinning to the notion of welfare that has links to the nineteenth century idea of the 'deserving poor'.¹⁵⁰ The *Social Security Act* (1938) saw the continuation of the means-tested pension available at sixty, although now available to both men and women, and the introduction of a universal (not means-tested) superannuation from age sixty-five.¹⁵¹ The universal pension saw a move away from morality based criteria for the pension reflecting a societal shift to see all older people as 'deserving' of state financial support. The 1972 Royal Commission on Social Security recommended the retention of the two-tier system of a means-tested benefit for those in need at age sixty and a taxed universal superannuation at age sixty-five.¹⁵² The report encouraged individuals to make their own provisions for retirement additional to the state funded support while advocating for adequate financial assistance and the right of all beneficiaries to be able to participate in the community.¹⁵³ To do this, the report recommended the removal of all mention of morality

¹⁴⁸ Vanessa James, "Government Provision of Welfare in Aotearoa New Zealand: We're Doing It Wrong," (Research Paper, Victoria University, 2015), 11, accessed October 16, 2018. <https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10063/5108/paper.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁴⁹ New Zealand History, "Old-age Pensions Act becomes law," accessed September 7, 2018. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/old-age-pensions-act-passes-into-law>.

¹⁵⁰ New Zealand Periodic Report Group, *Retirement Income Report, 2003* (Wellington: Periodic Report Group, 2003), 3.

¹⁵¹ Before the 1938 Social Security Act, the means-tested pension was available to women at 60 and men at 65. See: Elizabeth Ann Hanson, *The Politics of Social Security: The 1938 Act and some Later Developments* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1980).; Almon F. Rockwell, "The New Zealand Social Security Act," *Soc. Sec. Bull* 2, no. 5 (1939): 3.; Easton, *The whimpering of the state*, 65-66.

¹⁵² Easton, *The whimpering of the state*, 55-56.

¹⁵³ Hanson, *The Politics of Social Security*, 134-135.; Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

from codes regulating benefits.¹⁵⁴ This solidified the conception of older people as ‘deserving’ of financial assistance and exemplified community concern for older people.¹⁵⁵ In November 1975, older people showed their voting power as the National Party became elected partly because of its promise of a “state-funded national superannuation scheme available to all from the age of 60 years”.¹⁵⁶ This scheme went far beyond what was recommended in the Royal Commission on Social Security. It was regarded as the biggest expansion of the welfare state post WWII.¹⁵⁷ Muldoon introduced a superannuation scheme that was not means tested, with payments at 80 percent of the average wage for everyone who met residency requirement over the age of sixty.¹⁵⁸ The rights of the older person in New Zealand were given a significant boost.¹⁵⁹ Older people became better off than some members of the workforce, as well as families on other social security benefits.¹⁶⁰ This had implications for public attitudes towards older people which will be explored further in chapter three. National Superannuation, as it was named, quickly became the single largest item on the budget, the cost doubling within four years of its introduction.¹⁶¹ Despite the fact that the cost was growing faster than the economy, Muldoon knew the importance of keeping older voters on National’s side, so little was done to rein it in.¹⁶²

During the 1980s the government struggled to keep up with the rising costs of social security, which were widely thought to be unacceptably high for such a small nation.¹⁶³ There was little support for Muldoon’s economic policies, so when the Fourth Labour Government was elected in 1984 they began to roll out major reforms that transformed the political culture of one of the world’s most established welfare states.¹⁶⁴ One of the most significant changes was a focus on individual choice and consumption. The idealised family unit was replaced by the consumer unit as the basic unit in social policy.¹⁶⁵ There was a focus on the individual

¹⁵⁴ Hanson, *The Politics of Social Security*, 134-135; Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

¹⁵⁵ Koopman-Boyden and Scott, *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand*, 143-144.

¹⁵⁶ Koopman-Boyden and Scott, *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand*, 140.

¹⁵⁷ Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments*, 73.

¹⁵⁸ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

¹⁵⁹ Margaret McClure, “A Badge of Poverty or a Symbol of Citizenship,” in *Past Judgement: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, ed. Bronwyn Dally and Margaret Tennant (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004), 151.

¹⁶⁰ Koopman-Boyden and Scott, *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand*, 140-141.

¹⁶¹ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

¹⁶² Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments*, 73.

¹⁶³ Te Papa, “Social Welfare & the state: Social welfare,” accessed October 9, 2018.

<http://sites.tepapa.govt.nz/sliceofheaven/web/html/socialwelfare.html>.

¹⁶⁴ Elkin, “Ageism in the ‘Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise’,” 5.

¹⁶⁵ Belgrave, “Needs and the State: evolving social policy in New Zealand history,” 36.

and their entitlement to choose as a consumer. A push towards a more marketized welfare state was influenced by the general public's support for the existing system and a number of organised social groups pressing the government to expand parts of the public sector and state regulations that benefitted them.¹⁶⁶ The new government's strategy regarding social policy was like many other OECD countries during this period, one of containment with some retrenchment for programmes and benefits.¹⁶⁷ National Superannuation became a target for containment. The Fourth Labour Government introduced an income-taxed-based reduction, called the 'superannuation surcharge' in 1985.¹⁶⁸ Attempts to contain National Superannuation were met with fierce opposition by older people. The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation was founded in 1985 to protest the imposition of this surcharge on National Superannuation.¹⁶⁹ The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation believed that they receipt National Superannuation was based on the premise that the payment of taxes guaranteed security in old age.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, they saw the surcharge as an attempt to default on this social contract by turning what was considered as a citizenship right into an income-tested benefit.¹⁷¹ As Margaret Tennant argues, this group was based on a "strong sense of entitlement to state support, and little sense of stigma around its receipt".¹⁷² As a part of the retrenchment, the government applied more restrictive tests to a number of benefits, offering up for public scrutiny the private lives of those wanting to access them. This suggested a significant shift in perception of welfare provision, indicating a reversion to the nineteenth century idea of 'deserving poor', where people's lifestyle choices determined whether they were 'worthy' of receiving welfare.¹⁷³ Media portrayals of older people spending their superannuation on new cars, overseas holidays, and other forms of conspicuous consumption

¹⁶⁶ Herman Schwartz, "Small states in big trouble: state reorganization in Australia, Denmark, New Zealand, and Sweden in the 1980s," *World Politics* 46, no. 4 (1994): 5-6.

¹⁶⁷ Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments*, 67.

¹⁶⁸ Michael Littlewood, "A condensed history of public and private provision for retirement income in New Zealand, 1975-2008," *RPRC PensionBriefing* (2008): 2. Accessed June 20, 2019. <http://docs.business.auckland.ac.nz/Doc/PensionBriefing-2008-05-History-of-Public-and-Private-Provision-1975-2008.pdf>.

¹⁶⁹ Grey Power New Zealand Federation Inc., "History & Governance," accessed July 28, 2018. <https://greypower.co.nz/history/>.

¹⁷⁰ Juliana Mansvelt, "Case Study 10.4 Grey Power," in *Changing Places: New Zealand in the Nineties*, ed. Richard Le Heron and Eric Pawson (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1996), 333.

¹⁷¹ The Netherlands and Italy both had welfare states that were citizenship-based. However, the United States, Greece and Japan had occupational-based systems. Julia Lynch, *Age in the Welfare State: The Origins of Social Spending on Pensioners, Workers, and Children* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 56.; Mansvelt, "Case Study 10.4 Grey Power," 333.

¹⁷² Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 153.

¹⁷³ James, "Government Provision of Welfare in Aotearoa New Zealand," 11.

made members of the public question whether they were being selfish at the expense of younger generations.¹⁷⁴

It was not unusual to direct criticism towards older people in times of economic strain, however Margaret McClure argued that older people “remained a distinctive, respectable group... immune from character assassination when welfare recipients come under fire”.¹⁷⁵ The nature of the pension was still considered different to that of a benefit. There was also a significant percentage of older people who relied on superannuation payments. Older people who did not have family available to assist them, as well as those who had not planned for their retirement relied on this social welfare to enable them to live. Not all older people were poor, however older people were more likely than younger people to be very poor, especially if they were female.¹⁷⁶ Despite women living longer, being typically more dependent on superannuation and more involved in the community and voluntary sector, it was by and large older men in managerial and executive positions within the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, NZRSA and the National Old People’s Welfare Council.¹⁷⁷ This reflected the tendency of these organisations to provide networks for active retirees that mimicked male professional networks, therefore favoured men in positions of power.¹⁷⁸ This was especially true for the NZRSA and the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation. The lack of women in executive positions illustrates the persistence of traditional roles for women. Those who were able to volunteer in the National Old People’s Welfare Council and the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation primarily played supportive roles, providing care and support to older people through their local councils and federations. Older women were also expected to care for elderly family members and spouses which further excluded women from managerial positions.¹⁷⁹ A gendered hierarchical structure persisted within the

¹⁷⁴ David Thomson, *Selfish generations?: the ageing of New Zealand’s welfare state* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), 11.

¹⁷⁵ McClure, “A Badge of Poverty or a Symbol of Citizenship,” 153.

¹⁷⁶ Pat Thane, “Social Histories of Old Age and Aging,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 90. Accessed via: Project Muse.

¹⁷⁷ Women were unable to save for their retirement as much as their male counterparts due their lack of savings from their limited career opportunities and the time they had to take off to raise their family.; Donna Baines, Sara Charlesworth, and Ian Cunningham, “Changing Care? Men and Managerialism in the Nonprofit Sector,” *Journal of Social Work* 15, no. 5 (2015): 464.; Donna Baines, Sara Charlesworth, Ian Cunningham, and Janet Dassinger, “Self-Monitoring, Self-Blaming, Self-Sacrificing Workers: Gendered Managerialism in the Non-Profit Sector,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 35, no. 5 (2012): 364.

¹⁷⁸ Baines, et al., “Changing Care? Men and Managerialism in the Nonprofit Sector,” 464.

¹⁷⁹ Beatrice Hale, “‘It’s Not My Home Anymore’: A critique of in-home care,” in *Continuity amid Chaos: Health Care Management and Delivery in New Zealand*, ed. Robin Gauld (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), 254.

organisations themselves which mirrored traditional gendered roles in the public and private spheres.

One of the most significant changes during the 1970s and 1980s in New Zealand in regard to older people was the growth of organisations focusing specifically on their needs. Societal changes, including urbanisation and more women entering the workforce caused community and family fragmentation that saw a rise in community and voluntary groups that focused on older people's needs. This fragmentation caused a growing number of older people not to have access to family support or care which put pressure on government services to support older people with higher needs. With growing economic tension, the government looked to the community and voluntary sector to establish services to support older people. Religious and welfare organisations were tasked with care of the elderly. The reduction in women entering a religious vocation resulted in an increase of older person's services provided by the private sector. The National Old People's Welfare Council emerged as a result of the growth in older people's services. The aim for the National Old People's Welfare Council was for it to be at the grassroots, co-ordinating services for older people and then reporting back to the government. During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a new emphasis for those in the community and voluntary sector to include advocacy as a service they offered, which resulted in these groups becoming more political with their activism. Being at the grassroots allowed for the National Old People's Welfare Council to begin to advocate for the older people they were assisting. This signalled a change in the section of voluntary sector concerned with older people's needs. The extension of National Superannuation in 1977 by the Muldoon government, and the subsequent attempts to contain its costs caused older people to become increasingly politically assertive. The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation formed to protest the imposition of a superannuation surcharge in 1985, reminding the government of the voting power of their constituency.¹⁸⁰ The protest was based on the belief that superannuation was a citizenship right, and that this was being "eroded by changes in Government policy".¹⁸¹ The ageing membership of the NZRSA saw this organisation begin to focus on older people's issues as a way to gain back public support after a backlash against their backing of the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War highlighted intergenerational differences within the New Zealand public. It was older people themselves who gave their

¹⁸⁰ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

¹⁸¹ New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, "NZ Superannuitants Federation," in *Senior Citizen: The official Journal of the New Zealand Senior Citizens' Service* 15, no. 8 (1991): 2.

time to volunteer and advocate for issues that affected older New Zealanders. Traditional gender roles may have influenced the position these volunteers had within their organisations; however, the impact of this work was felt by all older people. While Māori advocacy for older people is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to note that although Māori were not well represented in these organisations and the effectiveness of these organisations for older Māori was questioned, these groups aimed to advocate for all older New Zealanders.

Chapter two - Changing relationships: Older persons advocacy in the New Zealand community and voluntary sector.

Western academics and governments have long acknowledged the importance of the contribution made by the community and voluntary sector to policy debates. This important role has been formally recognised to varying degrees within Western governments with the argument made by Cody that “democracies can be distinguished from authoritarian regimes by the existence of a strong voluntary sector”.¹⁸² In New Zealand, the role of community groups and social movements in democracy and policy formation has been acknowledged in law since 1856.¹⁸³ Community and voluntary organisations are able to represent diverse public needs and demands, often providing a voice for marginalised groups. Their demands are often suggestive of deficient state policy, which without their presence would continue to be neglected.¹⁸⁴ Government and public officials are not always well placed to sense the emerging needs of isolated groups in the community.¹⁸⁵ Despite filling a gap in state policy, New Zealand community groups must, at the very least, work cooperatively with central and local government to be able to achieve their aims. The changing relationship between the state and community and voluntary sector post WWII is the focus of the first section of this chapter, looking specifically at the response of the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation (Grey Power), the National Old Peoples Welfare Council (Age Concern) and the NZRSA to these changes from 1970. The second section of this chapter looks at the relationship these groups had locally with their members and other older people who were the focus of their advocacy work.

Community and voluntary groups “worth their salt” have an advocacy role.¹⁸⁶ Advocacy gained prominence as a relatively new approach to social intervention in New Zealand during the rights based movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Advocacy should aim to bring about

¹⁸² John Cody, “Introduction,” in *Performance without Profit: the Voluntary Welfare Sector in New Zealand*, ed. G R Hawke and David Robinson (Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, 1993), 2.

¹⁸³ Sandra Grey and Charles Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice: the impact of the neoliberal contract state on democracy,” *New Zealand Sociology* 30, no. 1 (2015): 89.

¹⁸⁴ Grey and Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice,” 88-89.

¹⁸⁵ Gino E. Dal Pont, *Charitable Law in Australia and New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3.

¹⁸⁶ Sue Elliott and David Haigh. “Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector: ‘Nothing stands by itself.’” *Third Sector Review* 19, no. 2 (2013): 162.

structural change to remedy inequalities, not to just make them more tolerable.¹⁸⁷ Focusing lobbying efforts on structural problems had more of an impact on those being advocated for, compared with superficial issues. Unlike in other countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom, there had been no political parties specifically founded to address the issues faced by older people in New Zealand.¹⁸⁸ Consequently, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, the National Old Peoples Welfare Council and the NZRSA used advocacy and lobbying directed at the state as an important component of the work conducted. Part of the stated purpose of Grey Power was that they were a group who presented “a strong united lobby to government on matters affecting the welfare and care of the elderly”.¹⁸⁹ In the constitution of the first Old People’s Welfare Council, it stated that the council shall consider “social legislation as it affects old people and tak[e] action thereon, if so advised”.¹⁹⁰ Advocacy also became an important focus of the NZRSA shortly after its inception, which focused on ex-service personnel and their families.¹⁹¹ The success of these organisation’s advocacy work and their ability to advocate depended on a number of factors, and also reflected the changes in the structure of the state itself. Samuel describes advocacy as a form of social action that is “shaped by the political culture, social systems, and constitutional frame work of the country in which they are practised”.¹⁹² From the 1970s to early 2000s, the political culture of New Zealand and its social systems changed dramatically for the community and voluntary sector. Government policy and reforms, in particular the move to a ‘contract state’ in the late 1980s fundamentally changed the relationship between the community and voluntary sector and the New Zealand Government.¹⁹³ These changes to the relationship between government and the community and voluntary sector had obvious implications for the National Old People’s Welfare Council, NZRSA and the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation. The move to a ‘contract state’ had varying levels of impact on

¹⁸⁷ Ian Parsons, *Oliver Twist has asked for more: The politics and practice of getting justice for people with disabilities* (Victoria: Villamanta Publishing Service, 1994), 40.

¹⁸⁸ Grey Power was an Australian political party from 1983-1997. The Senior Citizens Party was a political party in the United Kingdom from 2004-2014.

¹⁸⁹ NZ Superannuitants Federation AGM Minutes, “Report,” December 1991, Folder 1991 -1992 AGM Minutes, 1, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

¹⁹⁰ National Old People’s Council of New Zealand, “Constitution and Rules of the National Old People’s Welfare Council of N.Z.,” National Old Peoples Welfare Council – General 1981-1985, Box 193, Record Number O&D 40, 1, National Archives, Wellington.

¹⁹¹ RSA, “History of the Royal NZ RSA,” accessed March 20, 2019. <https://www.christchurchrsa.org.nz/About-Us/History-of-Royal-NZ-RSA/>.

¹⁹² John Samuel, “Public Advocacy and People-Centred Advocacy: Mobilising for Social Change,” *Development in Practice* 17 (2007): 615.

¹⁹³ See: Grey and Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice.”; Boston and Holland, “The Fourth Labour Government.”

the activities of the organisations. In the 1980s and 1990s, all three organisations went through a period of reflection and refocused their objectives and aims. Their ability to continue to provide services and advocate for older people required them to negotiate and adapt to the changing environment between the state and the community and voluntary sector. However, there were limitations to what they were able to do. The nature of their funding had significant implications for independence, control, and the organisation's ability to advocate. The methods used by these groups to gain the attention of both the government and the wider community also played a part in the success of their advocacy. In addition, the degree of interaction these organisations had with older people in the community allowed them the opportunity to meet the needs of the older person in New Zealand.

There is ongoing debate about the relationship between government and the voluntary sector, especially in regard to the 'welfare state'.¹⁹⁴ The relationship has often been framed in a way that supported idealised concepts of community support, voluntary contribution and charity suppressed by an omnipotent state.¹⁹⁵ Conversely, disorganisation and inadequacy of the voluntary effort in meeting basic social needs was presented as the argument for increased state action.¹⁹⁶ A rhetoric of 'partnership' between community and voluntary services and the government, specifically the First Labour Government, emerged during the height of the welfare state following the Second World War.¹⁹⁷ This was particularly true when looking at services for older people. The First Labour Government's policies of economic protectionism, full employment and social security theoretically could have spelled the end of many community and voluntary groups.¹⁹⁸ However these groups continued to provide services and advice that was mainly viewed by the government as complementary to state services.¹⁹⁹ As discussed above, the government's decision to move the responsibility for the elderly in residential care from state-run hospital boards to the volunteer sector was framed

¹⁹⁴ It can be argued that the modern 'welfare state' emerged after the implementation of the 1938 *Social Security Act* by the First Labour Government. The term 'welfare state' entered into use after the Second World War to describe a range of social security and services provisions, and during the 1950s the term became widespread within New Zealand.

¹⁹⁵ Margaret Tennant, "Mixed Economy or Moving Forward: Welfare, the Voluntary Sector and Government," in *Past Judgement. Social Policy in New Zealand History*, eds. Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant (Dunedin: Otago University Press. 2004), 39.

¹⁹⁶ Tennant "Mixed Economy or Moving Forward," 39.

¹⁹⁷ *The Social Security Act* (1938) saw the beginning of the 'classic welfare state' that ended in the 1970s. During this time, social policy emphasized the protection of working-class families. The height of the welfare state is generally agreed to be a period between the late 1940s to the 1960s.

¹⁹⁸ Margaret Tennant, "Voluntary welfare organisations: Depression and the welfare state," accessed July 17, 2019. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/voluntary-welfare-organisations/page-4>.

¹⁹⁹ Tennant, "Voluntary welfare organisations."

under the rhetoric of partnership between the state and the community and voluntary sector.²⁰⁰ This move was supported by both the hospital boards and the general public who viewed religious organisations in particular as trusted places which could provide services for vulnerable older people.²⁰¹ It was not only the government demanding changes from the sector. W.H. Oliver noted in the historical survey for the 1988 Royal Commission on Social Policy that there had been a significant growth of voluntary societies since the 1960s. Oliver observed, “[m]any of these groups, from the mainline churches to special interest groups, are directing their demands, not to the charitable impulses of the community, but to the resources of the state”.²⁰² During the height of the welfare state, preferred voluntary social services benefitted from government funding to such an extent that the government became New Zealand’s largest philanthropist.²⁰³ This was all done under the rhetoric of ‘partnership’. Through the receipt of government grants, non-profit organisations were able to prioritize and pursue their own agenda and purposes.²⁰⁴

The government not only passed on responsibility for certain services to the community and voluntary sector, they also influenced the internal dynamics of organisations within this sector. The Government required regional branches of community and voluntary groups to federate by the 1960s.²⁰⁵ The report *Care of the Aged in New Zealand* called for the government to encourage and support the establishment of a national Old People’s Welfare Council in New Zealand to co-ordinate the established regional councils and support the creation of new ones throughout New Zealand.²⁰⁶ This move was a response to the fact that grants and subsidies were prioritised to nationally organised societies.²⁰⁷ This practice excluded many rural and individual groups, including Māori.²⁰⁸ The government faced criticism for funding organisations on the basis of historical precedent rather than

²⁰⁰ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 147.

²⁰¹ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 147.

²⁰² Oliver, “Social Policy in New Zealand,” 42.

²⁰³ Tennant, “Two to Tango,” 16.

²⁰⁴ Mike O’Brien, Jackie Sanders and Margaret Tennant, *The New Zealand non-profit sector and government policy: a review of the policy relationship between government and the non-profit sector, undertaken as part of the Study of the New Zealand Non-profit Sector* (Wellington: Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, 2009), 13.

²⁰⁵ Sanders et al., *The New Zealand non-profit sector in comparative perspective*, 25.

²⁰⁶ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 85.

²⁰⁷ Margaret Tennant, “Changes in voluntary work, 1980s and 1990s,” accessed June 15, 2019. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/voluntary-welfare-organisations/print>.

²⁰⁸ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152.

demonstrated need.²⁰⁹ Federating also allowed for organisations to consolidate their messages to government. Although Grey Power did not rely on government grants and subsidies, they too federated shortly after forming in 1985. Regional associations that emerged throughout New Zealand communicated the issues and concerns of their members to the national federation office. The national office then brought these concerns to government.²¹⁰ The NZRSA also had a similar structure. This meant that the national offices of all organisations were able to convey a single, co-ordinated message to government, and provide a single channel of communication with the organisation regarding issues they deemed important. This too helped foster close relationships with government ministers whose portfolios aligned with the advocacy work these groups were doing.

The government's continual financial contribution to the community and voluntary sector was based on relationships, often personal, that had been built up over the years the 'welfare state'. Politicians were often patrons of community and voluntary groups, which saw them attended annual meetings and received deputations from these groups.²¹¹ Personal connections and informality were significant characteristics of the relationship between the state and the community and voluntary sector up until the late 1980s. This, in part, reflected the control men had in the political arena, as well as the power they held in organisations within the community and voluntary sector. While community and voluntary work was a highly gendered environment, it was common to see men in upper management and executive positions in such organisations.²¹² This certainly reflected the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation and the NZRSA's structure as men consistently held managerial and executive positions over their female counterparts. Men also dominated the managerial positions in the National Old People's Welfare Council until 1989, when Lysbeth Noble became the first female National President.²¹³ New Zealand differed from other countries in that the community and voluntary sector had always had relatively easy access to members of parliament. This can be attributed, in part, to the small scale of the country which facilitated

²⁰⁹ Tennant, "Changes in voluntary work, 1980s and 1990s."; Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152.

²¹⁰ Grey Power Report from Management Committee to Annual General Meeting June 1992, "Concerns," in Grey Power Records, Folder 1992-1993 AGM Minutes, 6-7, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²¹¹ Tennant, "Two to Tango," 5.

²¹² Baines, et al., "Changing Care? Men and Managerialism in the Nonprofit Sector," 464.; Baines, et al., "Self-Monitoring, Self-Blaming, Self-Sacrificing Workers," 364.

²¹³ Age Concern National Old People's Welfare Council of NZ Inc., *Policy Manifesto for 1990* (Wellington: Age Concern, 1990), i.

informal and often personal relationships between organisations and politicians.²¹⁴ This was particularly evident from the 1940s to the 1960s when relatively stable governments permitted ministers to retain their portfolios for some years allowing for personal relationships to develop.²¹⁵ A number of organisations gained and retained government financial support through the use of direct grants and grants from the national lottery because of their relationship with Ministers.²¹⁶ The government also supported community and voluntary organisations through the use of informal supports from governmental departments, that included access to government transport, office space, publicity materials, departmental libraries and public servant's time.²¹⁷ These informal supports added complexity to the relationship between community and voluntary groups and the state. However, not all community and voluntary groups were treated equally. Historical circumstance and ministerial preference determined who would receive financial support.²¹⁸ This was the case when looking at the NZRSA and other patriotic societies. Under the rhetoric of 'partnership', after the Second World War the NZRSA became a monopoly provider of certain services for returned servicemen as well as civilians.²¹⁹ Without funding, the remaining patriotic societies reduced dramatically and many eventually joined with the NZRSA.²²⁰ The NZRSA became the single nationwide voice for issues relating to veterans in New Zealand. Over this period, they developed ways to effectively lobby and advocate on behalf of their members. From the 1970s on this experience benefitted older people, when the NZRSA changed their focus and motto to "People helping People".²²¹ The ageing of the returned service population resulted in the NZRSA focusing on older people's needs, although with a specific attention on veterans' needs, which included housing, health, and pensions. In the 1970s, the NZRSA employed the first specialized war pensions officers and appeal advocates. Their main job focused on advising local welfare officers in NZRSAs nationwide, updating pension and welfare manuals and assisting individual appellants in taking their cases to the War Pensions Appeal Board.²²² During the 1970s, the rhetoric of partnership began to falter as society and

²¹⁴ Margaret Tennant, "Governments and Voluntary Sector Welfare: Historians' Perspectives," *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* 17 (2001): 157.; Elliott and Haigh, "Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector," 174.

²¹⁵ Tennant, et al., "Defining the Nonprofit Sector," 10.

²¹⁶ Sanders, et al., *The New Zealand non-profit sector in comparative perspective*, 25.

²¹⁷ Tennant, et al., "Defining the Nonprofit Sector," 10.

²¹⁸ Tennant, et al., "Defining the Nonprofit Sector," 10.

²¹⁹ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 100.

²²⁰ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 87.

²²¹ Clarke, *After the War*, 208.

²²² Clarke, *After the War*, 208.

economic decline challenged these established patterns. However, the biggest change to the sector was yet to come.

During the 1980s, the relationship between the New Zealand Government and the community and voluntary sector changed dramatically. The Fourth Labour Government elected in July 1984 introduced a rapid neoliberal reform of social and economic structures that impacted on the community and voluntary sector in many ways. Labour's emphasis was not on social policy itself but on changing the economic structures wherein social policy could be developed.²²³ The main features of the neoliberal reform included the dismantling of the welfare state and deregulation of the economy, the privatisation and commercialisation of large parts of the economy and state services, and a massive redistribution of wealth and power from citizens towards corporations and elites.²²⁴ Three key elements which had significant impacts on the community and voluntary sector included separating policy from the delivery of information and services, the introduction of purchasing or contracting models as the main means of managing their relationship with the community and voluntary sector, and the employment of new public management theories which saw an increase in commercialisation and privatisation.²²⁵ This process was similar to the experience of community and voluntary sectors in Denmark, the United Kingdom and Sweden during the 1970s.²²⁶ However, New Zealand has been recognised for how quickly and deeply it adopted neoliberal modes of governance compared with other English-speaking democracies.²²⁷ In regard to the community and voluntary sector, the most prominent feature of the reforms was a change from grant funding to purchase of service contracts.²²⁸ Contracting was consistent with dominant economic theories that promoted market-based models, the state decreasing their role, competition for providers and choice in the delivery of services for consumers.²²⁹ One of the aims of this change was to move away from the providers who had cosy arrangements with ministers, to allow greater involvement with other groups. In reality

²²³ Belgrave, "Needs and the State: evolving social policy in New Zealand history," 24.

²²⁴ Jane Kelsey, *Rolling back the state: privatisation of power in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1993), 19-20.

²²⁵ Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, *Communities and government: potential for partnership = whakatōpū whakairo* (Wellington: Ministry of Social Policy, 2001), 60.

²²⁶ Steven Smith and Judith Smyth, "The governance of Contracting Relationships: "Killing the Golden Goose"," in *The New Public Governance?: Emerging Perspectives on the Theory and Practice of Public Governance*, ed. Stephen P. Osborne (Hoboken: Taylor Francis, 2010), 273.

²²⁷ Grey and Sedgwick, "Constraining the community voice," 88.

²²⁸ Cody, "Introduction," 1.

²²⁹ Tennant, "Mixed Economy or Moving Frontier," 53.

approximately 68 percent of contract funding was pre-allocated to large organisations whose administrative expertise was able to be cultivated during the height of the welfare state.²³⁰ This made it difficult, however not impossible, for new organisations to secure contracts.

The purchase of service contracting exemplified a new direction the state was heading in that reshaped the assumptions of an “altruistic” social exchange that had dominated the understanding of the welfare state previously.²³¹ The move to a ‘contract state’ caused tension for the community and voluntary sector.²³² Contracting was introduced, at first, in health and social service sectors and increasingly featured as the primary mechanism for transferring state funds across the range of sectors from the end of the 1980s.²³³ The introduction of *The State Services Act* (1988) and the *Public Finance Act* (1989) increased the levels of contracting and accountability to the community and voluntary sector by the state. In many cases, the requirements to meet services specifications were seen as more important than providing the original public service organisations were tasked with delivering.²³⁴ Without meeting the specifications organisations could not secure funding. Contracting impacted both the organisation and its aims. This new level of control had a detrimental effect on the ability of community and voluntary sector organisations to advocate as many providers felt as though they had to ‘tow the party line’ to ensure funding.²³⁵ For the National Old People’s Welfare Council, the move to a ‘contract state’ resulted in a complete change in focus of the organisation in order to remain funded by the government.

Independence was identified as a key factor in a successful advocacy service; for organisations in the community and voluntary sector, independence primarily depended on how the organisation was funded.²³⁶ The National Old People’s Welfare Council struggled with this issue since its formation in 1972. The National Old People’s Welfare Council had relied on government grants, reviewed annually, from the Department of Social Welfare to cover their costs.²³⁷ The continuing financial support from the Department of Social Welfare

²³⁰ Tennant, “Mixed Economy or Moving Frontier,” 53.

²³¹ Cody, “Introduction,” 1.

²³² Grey and Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice,” 88.

²³³ O’Brien, Sanders and Tennant, *The New Zealand Non-Profit Sector and Government Policy*, 14.

²³⁴ Elliott and Haigh, “Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector,” 160.

²³⁵ Grey and Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice,” 106-107.

²³⁶ Drage, “New Zealand’s National Health and Disability Advocacy Service,” 61.

²³⁷ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 53.

reflected the important role it played in society. Also, the ability for the National Old People's Welfare Council to argue their case for the need of their services within New Zealand in the period leading up to the 'contract state'. In a letter from H. J. Walker, Minister of Social Welfare in 1977, Walker noted the "valuable role" the Council played in the community, and that he was "pleased that again this year the Government is able to assist".²³⁸ However, that statement was followed by the comment "there can be no guarantee that the Government will be able to continue to meet such a substantial proportion of the Council's annual expenses. Also I do not think it is appropriate that the Government should be doing so".²³⁹ Other interested parties also commented on the Council's reliance on government funding. In a letter to the chairman of the National Old People's Welfare Council, Margaret Guthrie, Deputy Director of the Division of Hospitals in 1986 stated: "I guess this question of funding is often crucial. I would hope your Council could explore ways of funding initiatives which were not dependent on the state."²⁴⁰ Critics of the National Old People's Welfare Council often pointed to their reliance on government funding as a hinderance to their ability to advocate for the older person.²⁴¹ This perception remained as they moved to working within a 'contract state'.

The reliance on and uncertainty in regard to government funding resulted in the Council's growth to be "developed cautiously".²⁴² At the formation of the National Old People's Welfare Council in 1972, there were already a number of regional councils operating throughout New Zealand. Dunedin was the first council to be founded in 1948.²⁴³ Other councils developed in main centers throughout the 1960s, and recommendation were made to establish councils throughout the rest of New Zealand "where the size of the elderly population warrants it".²⁴⁴ Despite this intention, there were still several regions with a considerable older population where no council or equivalent existed.²⁴⁵ The Social Advisory

²³⁸ H. J. Walker to W. R. A. Lake, 18 November 1977, Organisation and Departments - National Old People's Welfare Council, Box 193, Record Number O&D 40, 1973 – 1977, National Archives, Wellington.

²³⁹ Walker to Lake, 18 November 1977.

²⁴⁰ Margaret Guthrie to R. J. Hamer, 10 February 1986, Organisation and Departments – National Old Peoples Welfare council – General, Box 194, 2, National Archives, Wellington.

²⁴¹ Guthrie to Hamer, 10 February 1986.

²⁴² Age Concern, "A Voice for the Elderly," National Old Peoples Welfare Council of New Zealand, Box 42, Record Number WA 009-00900, 2, National Archives, Wellington.

²⁴³ Age Concern, "The History of Age Concern," accessed February 2, 2019.

https://www.ageconcern.org.nz/ACNZPublic/About_Us/History/ACNZ_Public/History.aspx?hkey=272ca59f-8aed-4c09-9a5f-ecf06a10afb7.

²⁴⁴ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 85.

²⁴⁵ Board of Health, *Care of the Aged in New Zealand*, 84.

Council, established in November 1982 to advise the Minister of Social Welfare on social policy and social services, concluded that it is “widely recognised in the welfare field that good co-ordination hard pressed for funds cannot be expected to meet the transport and communications cost of effective co-ordination at national level”.²⁴⁶ This sentiment echoed the National Old People’s Welfare Council’s calls for additional funding for service coordination. The Social Advisory Council went further saying: “If agencies themselves do not find it easy to co-ordinate their activities, it is hardly surprising that the public at large feels uncertain and confused about what services are available, and how to go about finding out.”²⁴⁷ The National Old People’s Welfare Council’s funding depended on their ability to provide a service to older people in need, and also to assure the government that they were meeting these needs. Their main purpose could not be realised if the public did not know about their services. This was a difficult position to be in; the National Old People’s Welfare Council needed funding to provide their services, but also needed to show the government that their services were needed within the community to ensure funding.

The move to a ‘contract state’ caused the National Old People’s Welfare Council to refocus their objectives to ensure that they still could receive government funding. There was much deliberation about what they would focus on. In 1989, the National Old People’s Welfare Council chose elder abuse and neglect.²⁴⁸ As well as identifying an important issue for many older people in New Zealand, they were able to create a service that could then be contracted by the state. In 1991, the National Old People’s Welfare Council changed their name to Age Concern, in a move which Tennant argued, added an “overt political activism” to their main role as service co-ordinators.²⁴⁹ Age Concern developed and piloted the service delivery programme model for the Elder Abuse and Neglect Programme (EANP) in 1994 thanks to funding secured from the Lottery Aged Committee of the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board.²⁵⁰ Their 1995 report *Elder Abuse and Neglect in New Zealand* made the case that: “Age Concern has valuable expertise in the area of elder abuse and neglect and should

²⁴⁶ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 53.

²⁴⁷ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 53.

²⁴⁸ Bev Hong, Peter Leniston and Fleur Keys, *A Review of Elder Abuse and Neglect Prevention Services in New Zealand* (Wellington: Office for Senior Citizens, Ministry of Social Development, 2004), 5.

²⁴⁹ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 152.

²⁵⁰ Pauline Fallon, *Elder Abuse and/or Neglect: A Literature Review* (Wellington, Ministry of Social Development, 2006), 21.

continue to contribute to the development of policy in this area.”²⁵¹ Age Concern argued that their knowledge should result in their continued involvement in informing policy and running the EANP. The 1995 Report made clear that “no single government agency has policy responsibility in the area of elder abuse and neglect,” further arguing the case for the need of these types of services.²⁵² In 1997, EANP services were contracted to Age Concern by Child, Youth and Family.²⁵³ As a contracted provider of services, Age Concern, like many other providers were now at the mercy of the state. Up until 1999, Age Concern were the sole providers of the EANP throughout New Zealand, after this, other organisations were contracted to provide these services.²⁵⁴ The same year also saw the end of the national coordination role that Age Concern held.²⁵⁵ This illustrated an important factor of the contract state; even though Age Concern created a niche market, the properties of the contract state did not guarantee that they would continue to be the sole contractors of this service, nor be a contractor of this service at all.

The environment created by contracting services discouraged advocacy work, as there was a risk that the organisations who held contracts would become responsive to the requirements of the funder, rather than the needs of the group they serviced and the wider community.²⁵⁶ These changes in government funding, despite their aims to reduce the role of government, resulted in far greater levels of control over this sector.²⁵⁷ It was not an example of ‘contracting out’, but of ‘contracting in’ community and voluntary organisations.²⁵⁸ The government exercised its control over both the range of services provided, but also the operation of community and voluntary groups which had a significant influence on their advocacy role. The reliance on contract funding also impacted on the opportunity of groups to lobby effectively. Organisations had to prioritise their services, which meant that many were unable to participate and contribute in government forums or consultations.²⁵⁹ Advocacy and lobbying activities were often the first to go. This line of thought does not

²⁵¹ Patricia Knaggs and Age Concern New Zealand Incorporated, *Elder Abuse and Neglect in New Zealand: A Report* (Wellington: Age Concern New Zealand, 1995), 13.

²⁵² Knaggs and Age Concern New Zealand Incorporated, “Elder Abuse and Neglect in New Zealand,” 13.

²⁵³ Hong, et al., *A Review of Elder Abuse and Neglect Prevention Services in New Zealand*, 5.

²⁵⁴ Hong, et al., *A Review of Elder Abuse and Neglect Prevention Services in New Zealand*, 5.

²⁵⁵ Hong, et al., *A Review of Elder Abuse and Neglect Prevention Services in New Zealand*, 5.

²⁵⁶ O’Brien, Sanders and Tennant, *The New Zealand Non-Profit Sector and Government Policy*, 28.

²⁵⁷ Grey and Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice,” 91.

²⁵⁸ Garth Nowland-Foreman, *Outcomes, Accountability and Community & Voluntary Organisations: Holy Grail, Black Hole or Wholly Possible?* (Auckland: Centre for Not for Profit Leadership, 2016), 2.

²⁵⁹ Grey and Sedgwick, “Constraining the community voice,” 105.

completely align with the experiences of Age Concern. In addition to contracts received for the EANP, Age Concern was often contracted by different governmental departments to undertake research on the needs of older people in New Zealand. In December 1989, Age Concern was contracted by the Housing Corporation of New Zealand to research the needs and attitudes of older people with respect to home equity conversion.²⁶⁰ This type of contracting clarified the Government's view of Age Concern as a group at the 'grass roots' who understood the needs of the people they served. This is an important aspect of advocacy that will be explored further below. However, Age Concern, as a result of their contractual obligations and restrictions due to funding had to be more indirect in their approach to their advocacy and lobbying. Age Concern's advocacy work focused on using submissions, reports and other documentation to persuade government departments to act on particular issues. R. J. Hamer, president of Age Concern, in his 1989 annual report concluded that: "the importance of our National Council lies in assembling remits, and opinions from the Regional councils, disseminating information to them and canvassing Government and Government departments and other agencies on their behalf".²⁶¹ Making submissions, in their view, was "certainly... where the voice of the elderly can be heard".²⁶² Age Concern commented on issues but were not as blatantly critical of the government as other organisations due to their reliance on government funding.

The difficulty of combining public advocacy work with receiving government funding was mitigated by some in the community and voluntary sector by choosing to not take any government grants or funding, as one provider stated "it would make it harder for us to say what needed to be said".²⁶³ A number of organisations in this sector looked towards the community for their funding instead of relying on the government. This practice increased during the second half of the twentieth century which saw more organisations dependent on the continuing receipt of donations and contributions from outside sources.²⁶⁴ The NZRSA's

²⁶⁰ National Old People's Welfare Council of NZ, *Home Equity Conversion: Report on the Research Undertaken to Find Out the Needs, Views and Concerns of Older People* (Wellington: Age Concern, National Old People's Welfare Council of NZ, 1990), 2.

²⁶¹ Welfare of Aged Persons Distribution Committee Minutes, "Annual Report of Chairman Year Ending October 31st, 1989," National Old Peoples Welfare Council of New Zealand, Box 42, Record Number WA 009-00900, 6, National Archives, Wellington.

²⁶² Welfare of Aged Persons Distribution Committee Minutes, "Annual Report of Chairman Year Ending October 31st, 1989," 6.

²⁶³ Grey and Sedgwick, "Constraining the community voice," 102.

²⁶⁴ Dal Pont, *Charitable Law in Australia and New Zealand*, 4.

Poppy Day, was a nationwide appeal that started in 1922 as a way for the NZRSA to collect money from the public to allow them to continue to support veterans and their families.²⁶⁵ In addition to this appeal, the NZRSA funded their operations mostly through capitation and affiliation fees. Similarly, since its formation, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation funded their activities through membership subscriptions.²⁶⁶ The ability for organisations to be assertive was important in gaining political influence. Over time, contracting encouraged those in the community and voluntary sector to become more assertive politically.²⁶⁷ Organisations who were self-funded were often able to be more direct through their own actions, whereas others had to be more indirect which triggered organisations supporting other organisations who could represent their interests.²⁶⁸ The ability to be financed independent of the government allowed the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation and the NZRSA to be more somewhat bolder and more assertive in their lobbying and advocating on behalf of their membership and older people in general in New Zealand.

The ability to self-fund their operations via membership fees enabled the NZRSA and the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation to engage freely in debate relating to government policy. The NZRSA had a particular advantage in comparison with the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation in that they had been successfully lobbying the government on a range of issues since their formation in 1916. The NZRSA benefitted from a positive relationship with the government throughout the height of the welfare state. This allowed for the NZRSA to learn about governmental processes and create a strong administration experienced in lobbying the government. The move to a contract state added strain to this relationship as the Government started to distance itself from the sector. In response, the NZRSA reminded the government of its obligations, especially in regard to war veterans' entitlements to war pensions. This is particularly clear in the address given by Sir William Leuchars, Dominion President, at the 1986 NZRSA council meeting:

[W]e will continue to remind all Governments that war veterans have an entitlement in terms of the War Pensions Act which is not an extension of Social Welfare Legislation. And I give notice to this or any other government that the full weight of

²⁶⁵ RSA, "Poppy Day," accessed February 10, 2019. <https://www.rsa.org.nz/remembrance/poppy-day>.

²⁶⁶ Grey Power New Zealand Federation Inc., "History & Governance."

²⁶⁷ Smith and Smyth, "The governance of Contracting Relationships," 271.

²⁶⁸ Smith and Smyth, "The governance of Contracting Relationships," 271.

this Association will be used to oppose any proposal to absorb war pensions matters into the Social Welfare Department or into the Social Security Act.²⁶⁹

The strong language and the thinly veiled threat illustrate the assertiveness of the NZRSA. However, it could also reflect of a sense of anxiety felt within the NZRSA during this period. NZRSA membership was declining by the 1980s and 1990s due to the passing of WWI veterans.²⁷⁰ The ambiguity in this statement may also represent the NZRSA solidifying their position within New Zealand society and reminding the Government of the long history of the organisation. Despite this anxiety, the NZRSA's relationship with the government was not reliant on funding which allowed them to speak critically against the state, as well as to openly advocate and lobby on a number of issues in relation to their older members.

The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation also engaged in debate related to government policies, particularly on the issue of the 'surtax', a tax on superannuation introduced by the Fourth Labour Government. Grey Power highlighted the difference between the First Labour Government "who laid down deep humanitarian social legislation for all people – policy that for many years lead the world," and the Fourth Labour government and their "erring legislators" for the introduction of this surtax and changes made to New Zealand Superannuation.²⁷¹ This tone of disapproval of governmental decisions was present in Grey Power's attitude towards the state from the beginning. In the early days the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation expressed difficulties engaging with the Government. In a national meeting in June 1985, a feeling of disappointment was expressed at the lack of reply from the Prime Minister David Lange after a letter was sent regarding the abolition of the surtax on Superannuitants.²⁷² Further, in the Winter 1988 edition of their magazine *The Superannuitants – A lifestyle Guide and Catalogue*, president R.W. Hubbard noted "[n]ot much response" from members of Parliament in regard to previously distributed newsletters and magazines.²⁷³ In the November General Meeting of the same year, a connection was

²⁶⁹ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council Annual Report 1985-1986, "NZRSA Dominion Council Meeting Address, Sir William Leuchars," 2-3, N.Z.R.S.A. Archives, Wellington.

²⁷⁰ Clarke, *After the War*, 186.

²⁷¹ R.W. Hubbard, "Federation Policy," in *The Superannuitants: A lifestyle Guide and Catalogue*, June (1988): 11.

²⁷² New Zealand Superannuitants Federation Meeting Minutes, "Programme Proposals from the sub-Committee," 24 June 1985, Folder 1985 -1986 AGM Minutes, 2, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁷³ R.W. Hubbard, "Annual Report," in *The Superannuitants: A lifestyle Guide and Catalogue* June (1988): 12.

made between the “good liaison” Age Concern had with various government departments and the “good work” they were doing for older people in New Zealand.²⁷⁴ This shows an understanding by the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation that a positive relationship with the government impacted on the ability of Age Concern to benefit older people, and that perhaps they did not have the same level of relationship to warrant a response by government departments on all matters the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation brought to their attention.

The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation’s growth after their establishment soon mitigated any disadvantage the organisation may have had due to the lack of relationship with the government. Their membership surged after the introduction of the surtax, and as a result, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation membership numbers began to gain them political influence. By 1990, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation numbers had risen to over 35,000 members throughout New Zealand who were organized into 35 local associations.²⁷⁵ The sheer number of members of the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation meant that the Government were forced to listen. The New Zealand Superannuitants Federation’s ability to self-fund their operations gave them the capacity to be vocal critics of the Government. While being self-described as a “neutral but assertive voice of influence” with no party-political affiliation, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation made sure that their members were well aware of each party’s policies and how they aligned with the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation’s policies.²⁷⁶ In the 1989 summer edition of *The Superannuitants*, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation argued that “Grey Power is Voting Power We will make sure that candidates for the 1990 elections are aware of their responsibilities to you. Politicians only understand votes”.²⁷⁷ This illuminates the realities of the New Zealand political system, in fact any democratic political system, in that politicians respond to voter’s needs. From 1991, the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation changed officially changed its name to Grey Power, solidifying this association between voting and the power of the organisation. Evidently, their strong membership of voters was essential to get Grey Power’s opinions heard by the government.

²⁷⁴ Report of the Board of the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation Grey Power to the Annual General Meeting 7 November 1988, Folder 1998-1999 AGM Minutes, 3, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁷⁵ Ray Godly, “The National President Writes,” in *The Superannuitants: A lifestyle Guide and Catalogue* 2, no. 4 (1990): 2.

²⁷⁶ Grey Power New Zealand Federation Inc., “Welcome,” accessed January 27, 2019. <https://greypower.co.nz/>.

²⁷⁷ “Grey Power moves into the 1990’s,” in *The Superannuitants: A lifestyle Guide and Catalogue* 2, no. 3 (1989): 4.

This assertiveness and freedom to express their demands also influenced the ways in which the NZRSA and Grey Power advocated and lobbied on behalf of older people. To advocate and lobby successfully, groups relied on their ability to effectively express their views and needs not only to the government, but to the wider community. One way groups did this was through the use of external media such as press statements, demonstrations, magazines and leaflets. The use of external media was not new to protest and lobbying.²⁷⁸ In fact, communication through the press was the main means of communication by many groups before the 1970s. The NZRSA often used the media by way of letter to the editor and press releases to voice their disapproval of government policy and lack of government action. An article published in the *Evening Post* on 22 May 1986 stated the NZRSA were “upset” over the fact they had to wait seven months before seeing the Minister of War Pensions on submissions they had made the previous year.²⁷⁹ This tactic provoked a swift response from the Secretary of War Pensions, stating their disapproval at the public criticism directed towards the Minister in Charge of War Pensions, followed by some advice that: “A more constructive approach... would have been for the Association to have asked for written confirmation of the decisions from the Minister or the Department.”²⁸⁰ Sir William Leuchars, Dominion President, responded expressing his surprise at the suggestion that it was up to the NZRSA to ask for written confirmation. Adding, rather assertively, that “the interests of public relations would have been better served if those responsible for keeping Ministerial correspondence up-to-date had arranged for the customary advice of Ministerial decisions to be sent”.²⁸¹ The NZRSA demanded the attention they believed they deserved from the government. The absence of a need for government funding allowed them to unhesitatingly use the media to ‘call out’ the state on their lack of action. The use of external media to get a reaction from the government shows the break down in the relationship between the government and the community and voluntary sector. There was little room for informality and personal relationships between community and voluntary organisations and ministers in the new contract environment.

²⁷⁸ Hyman Gold, “Lobbying and Protest: Patterns of Political Change at the Informal Level,” in *New Zealand Politics in Perspective*, ed. Hyam Gold (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1992), 369.

²⁷⁹ Mr J.W. Grant to Sir William Leuchars, 23 May 1986, N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Executive Committee Minutes July 1985 to Jun 1986, N.Z.R.S.A. Archives, Wellington.

²⁸⁰ Mr J.W. Grant to Sir William Leuchars, 23 May 1986.

²⁸¹ Sir William Leuchars to J.W. Grant, RSA Letter, 26 May 1986, N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Executive Committee Minutes July 1985 to Jun 1986, N.Z.R.S.A. Archives, Wellington.

Grey Power also extensively used press releases to both alert the public to the problems facing older people, and to call the government to action on a range of issues. Like the NZRSA, Grey Power used strong language and did not disguise their disapproval of government policies, spending and actions. In response to an announcement of staff reductions in the police force in June 1989, President of Grey Power Bob Hubbard stated “[i]t is apparent that the Government will forsake all, no matter the social cost, to balance the Budget. The Federation will on behalf of all superannuitants in New Zealand voice their disapproval to the Government at the action they have taken.”²⁸² Despite releasing a large number of media releases, Grey Power faced difficulty getting the pieces to print, blaming a resistance by national media outlets to publicise the concerns of superannuitants.²⁸³ To get their opinion out into the community Grey Power made use of smaller local papers and radio stations. Talkback radio was identified as the preferred method of spreading their ideas and gaining traction as Grey Power members had control over the narrative.²⁸⁴ Sharing their ideas and opinions through this medium helped Grey Power make a name for themselves and grow their membership, which impacted on their ability to advocate.

The 1990s were characterised by a further deterioration in the nature of the relationship between the government sector and community and voluntary organisations. During this time debates occurred about the nature and role of community and voluntary sector organisations:

Was their primary purpose to be a vehicle for the achievement of government policy objectives or did they also have an independent role that they defined? Was there accountability of sector organisations to Government, to the wider public (however defined), to clients or to donors and other supporters? Was it right that government agencies should specify the priorities of organisations from which it purchased services, rather than supporting their causes of origin?²⁸⁵

²⁸² New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., “PRESS RELEASE,” 21 June 1989, Folder 1989 - 1990 AGM Minutes, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁸³ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., “Report from Management Committee to Annual General Meeting June 1992: Publicity and communications,” Folder 1991 -1992 AGM Minutes, 8, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁸⁴ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., “Report from Management Committee to Annual General Meeting June 1991,” Folder 1991 -1992 AGM Minutes, 3, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁸⁵ O’Brien, Sanders and Tennant, *The New Zealand Non-Profit Sector and Government Policy*, 14.

These questions continued to be used by the government to review and look at the development of community and voluntary services that could meet government goals, even into the 2000s.²⁸⁶ The Bolger National government, from 1990 to 1993, focused on social policy reform and labour market reform.²⁸⁷ This Government's goal was no longer to conform to people's desires, but to meet 'real' need, which resulted in swift attacks on benefits.²⁸⁸ The idea of 'real need' that informed this shift in policy partly indicated a return to nineteenth century ideas of the 'deserving poor'.²⁸⁹ To qualify for a benefit, people were now required to demonstrate that matters beyond their control had forced them into poverty.²⁹⁰ These reforms also impacted on older people. Despite older people being generally perceived as 'deserving', rigorous policies against the aged, which Margaret McClure described as unexpected from a National Government saw National, Labour and Alliance sign a Multi-Party Accord on Superannuation in 1993.²⁹¹ Grey Power's response to the changes introduced by the Bolger Government indicated an escalation in the language used by Grey Power to condemn the state. In a joint press release Ray Cody, National President, and George Drain, Deputy Chairman of the Management Committee, stated that "[w]e resent and will fiercely resist the govt's obvious intention to reduce the standard of living of most of the elderly people of New Zealand.... We intend to galvanize them into a tremendous Nation-wide reaction".²⁹² Reports of activism by local Grey Power Federations in the September 1997 issue of *Grey Power – The Magazine* and local media outlets demonstrates how sustained local activism led to the sporadic outbreaks of mass protest.²⁹³ Reports from local associations in the December 1997 issue of *Grey Power – The Magazine* demonstrate the role the organisation played in the local protests. Grey Power helped build a 5000 person march against cuts to surgical services at a local hospital in Whakatane in October: "We used our telephone tree to ring over a thousand of our members, we sent each

²⁸⁶ See: Ministry of Social Development, Child Youth and Family, The Treasury, *Child, Youth and Family, First Principles Baseline Review*, Ministry of Social Development, Wellington 2003.

²⁸⁷ Belgrave, "Needs and the State," 24.

²⁸⁸ McClure, "A Badge of Poverty or a Symbol of Citizenship," 153.

²⁸⁹ Michael Belgrave, "Social Policy History: Forty Years on, Forty Years Back," Paper presented to the Affording our Future Conference, Wellington, December 10-11, 2012, 4. Accessed October 17, 2019. <https://www.victoria.ac.nz/sacl/centres-and-institutes/cpf/publications/pdfs/1.8-Belgrave-paper.pdf>.

²⁹⁰ Jenny Shipley, *Social Assistance: Welfare that works: a statement of government policy on social assistance* (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 1991), 13.

²⁹¹ McClure, "A Badge of Poverty or a Symbol of Citizenship," 153.

²⁹² New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., "Joint Press Release – Ray Cody National NZSF President and George Drain Deputy Chairman NZSF Management Committee," 30 May 1991, Folder 1991 - 1992 AGM Minutes, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁹³ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation, *Grey Power – The Magazine* September (1997):14.

of them a letter inviting them to take part in the rally and march, and we paid for large advertisements in the local paper.”²⁹⁴ The growing activism of this group, and older people in general, reflected disaffection with the New Zealand politics at the time.

This breakdown in the relationship between the community and voluntary sector and the government was further evidenced in the way that Age Concern changed how they advocated for the older people they represented. As explored above, New Zealand’s small scale made it relatively easy for organisations in the community and voluntary sector to communicate with ministers. Direct communication and the accessibility to ministers allowed the community and voluntary sector to be very active in collaborating with, critiquing and attempting to shape government policy in their particular domains of focus.²⁹⁵ During the 1970s and 1980s, Age Concern’s primary form of communication with the government was through letters to ministers and reports on areas of interest for the organisation. In a 1988 annual report Grey Power noted that Age Concern had built up a good liaison with Government Departments, including Health, Social Welfare and Housing.²⁹⁶ However, from 1990 onwards, Age Concern increasingly used the media to voice their disapproval of government policy, or to draw the attention of the wider community to the issues facing older people in general. This media presence began to grow during the mid-1990s, to a point where Age Concern was frequently engaging with both national and local newspapers on issues that involved older people. The language used by Age Concern was not as aggressive or assertive as Grey Power and NZRSA. Instead of demanding, Age Concern ‘urged’ the government or local authorities to respond to a need.²⁹⁷ The use of the media mirrors the tactic used by the NZRSA during the 1980s however was different as Age Concern held government contracts; further demonstrating the breakdown in relationship between those in the community and voluntary sector and the state.

It was not until the late 1990s that the New Zealand government began to rebuild their relationship with the community and voluntary sector. The adoption of a mixed-member proportional (MMP) representation electoral system in 1996 slowly began to allow the

²⁹⁴ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation, *Grey Power –The Magazine* December (1997): 9.

²⁹⁵ O’Brien, Sanders and Tennant, *The New Zealand Non-Profit Sector and Government Policy*, 35.

²⁹⁶ Report of the Board of the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation Grey Power to the Annual General Meeting 7 November 1988, Folder 1998-1999 AGM Minutes, 3, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

²⁹⁷ Age Concern New Zealand, “Age Concern Urges Early super. Pay-out,” *The Press*, December 14, 1994, 50.

community and voluntary sector an opportunity to engage in the political process. MMP favoured the formation of coalition governments which promoted the need for negotiation and compromise which, to some degree, allowed for the input of community and voluntary organisations.²⁹⁸ In the late 1990s, international changes influenced this move to rebuild relationships. Britain's new Labour government led by Tony Blair recognised the need to nurture government and community and voluntary sector relationships.²⁹⁹ Back in New Zealand, the Labour-led government elected in 1999 established the Community & Voluntary Sector Working Party which revealed the sector's distrust of government and their exclusion from policy decision making.³⁰⁰ The government began to change the language they used to frame their relationship with the community and voluntary sector opting for terms such as 'social capital' and 'social cohesion' all with the aim of rebuilding the relationship between the state and the community and voluntary sector.³⁰¹

Local government including city, district and regional councils also were a target of advocacy work and lobbying by Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA. As part of the complex social framework of New Zealand, regional associations of these national organisations developed relationships with local government. A report from the 40+ Project and Age Concern New Zealand argued that city, district and regional councils have "strategic control over many aspects of the physical and social environment in which older New Zealanders live".³⁰² However the legislation regulating what local government could or must do was broad. Local authorities had a general 'power to act', however according to the Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, the extent of involvement depended on "the demands of particular communities, the philosophy of elected councilors, the financial resources of the region and the operating policies of the council".³⁰³ Examining the relationships between local councils Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA is outside the scope of this thesis due to the large variance between local councils, however, key themes and ideas will be explored briefly. The introduction of the *Local Government Act* in 1989 resulted in an

²⁹⁸ Elliott and Haigh, "Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector," 24.

²⁹⁹ Elliott and Haigh, "The New Zealand Not for Profit Sector," 6.

³⁰⁰ Elliott and Haigh, "Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector," 7.

³⁰¹ Elliott and Haigh, "Advocacy in the New Zealand not-for-profit sector," 161.

³⁰² Susan Gee, Kathy Glasgow, Sik Hung Ng, Age Concern New Zealand Incorporated and 40+ Project, *Creating Communities for all Ages: Local Government and Older New Zealanders: A Report from the 40+ Project and Age Concern New Zealand* (Wellington: 40+ Project, 2000), 6.

³⁰³ Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, *Communities and government*, 118.

emphasis being placed on public participation in local government decision making.³⁰⁴ Authorities were required to ask for community input, which gave Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA another arena where they could contribute to public debate, advocate and lobby on local older people's needs. Grey Power actively encouraged their regional federations to take up matters of local concern with their local council or MP.³⁰⁵ As a result some Local Government Councils felt under pressure to provide more advocacy services for older people. Many Councils decided to form partnerships with local older people's groups such as Grey Power and Age Concern. They were considered partners and key stakeholders and were regularly called on as 'experts' to consult on issues to do with older people as it was clear to local councils that these groups played an important role at local levels.³⁰⁶

Successful advocacy did not only depend on the organisation's relationship with central or local government, being active at the 'grass roots' level and connecting with the people they represented was also important. Often government and public officials were not always well placed to sense emerging needs of isolated groups in the community.³⁰⁷ This is why it was, and still is, important for advocacy groups to work closely with those they are advocating for so as to convey the actual needs of the community. As the population of older people in New Zealand grew, so did the number of groups whose focus was on older people's needs. Grey Power and Age Concern both saw their number rise, although the latter's growth had been "developed cautiously" due to a lack of assured funding.³⁰⁸ Grey Power's 1990 National President Ray Godly, stated that he had "come to realise that the greatest achievement of the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation (Grey Power) is the very fact of its existence with its 35,000 plus members".³⁰⁹ Grey Power credited this growth to two things, the fact that the Government had provided the "best possible membership inducements", as well as the hard work of their regional federations who had made the best of the situation.³¹⁰ The NZRSA did not experience this upward trend in membership. Membership began declining due to the deaths of WWI veterans and the decreasing numbers of WWII veterans during the 1970s and

³⁰⁴ Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party, *Communities and government*, 118.

³⁰⁵ Grey Power Report from Management Committee to Annual General Meeting June 1992, "Concerns," 7.

³⁰⁶ Gee, et al., *Creating Communities for all Ages*, 6.

³⁰⁷ Dal Pont, *Charitable Law in Australia and New Zealand*, 3.

³⁰⁸ Age Concern, "A Voice for the Elderly," 2.

³⁰⁹ Ray Godly, "The National President Writes," *The Superannuitant* 2, 4 (1990): 2.

³¹⁰ Report of the Board of the New Zealand Superannuitants Federation Grey Power to the Annual General Meeting 6 July 1994, Folder 1994-1995 AGM Minutes, 6, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

1980s.³¹¹ The NZRSA responded by opening up its strict membership criteria, which resulted in a number of local NZRSA experiencing growth in their numbers for the first time in decades.³¹² All three groups were connected to the people they were advocating for through their own members as well as the work they did with older people in the wider community. This connectedness to their constituency was important for Grey Power to organise protests against the government. Age Concern's regional councils, the NZRSA's regional clubs, and Grey Power's regional federations were located predominantly in urban areas throughout New Zealand. These regional councils, clubs and federations were in constant contact with the national office. This allowed the National Offices to gather the most relevant information and advocate and lobby the government on issues most important to their members.

The growth in membership of Grey Power and Age Concern, and the growth of older members of the NZRSA resulted in an expansion of services and focus beyond their original objective. Working closely with older people at the 'grass roots' put these organisations in a position to understand the needs of those they advocated for. Their ageing membership caused NZRSA to move into the older person's welfare space, with a particular focus on veterans' pensions and housing. Age Concern developed as a provider of services, focusing on those who had experienced elder abuse and neglect. They also developed visiting services and regional councils were able to provide local knowledge for older people and their support networks in the community.³¹³ Grey Power expanded its focus from lobbying the government about the superannuation surtax, to a much wider range of issues. President Neville McLindon stated in 1993 that their "political and social objectives now cover a much broader base of issues affecting the livelihood of retired people".³¹⁴ This change reflected the growing number of members and their diverse needs. Grey Power began exploring and negotiating commercial benefits and sponsorships for their members.³¹⁵ This became a focus of criticism of the organisation as they were seen as 'too commercial'. However, Grey Power refuted this idea stating that their partnership with businesses and the discounts received by

³¹¹ Gee, et al., *Creating Communities for all Ages*, 11.

³¹² Te Atatu RSA, "Membership," accessed April 20, 2019. <https://www.teatatura.co.nz/club-2/our-history/>.

³¹³ National Old People's Welfare Council of New Zealand Incorporated, "Minutes of the Executive Committee, Meeting Held on 6 and 7 December 1988," National Old Peoples Welfare Council – General 1981-1985, Box 193, Record Number O&D 40, 6, National Archives, Wellington.

³¹⁴ Neville McLindon, New Zealand Superannuitants Federation Grey Power, "Group Power," *New Zealand Herald*, September 10, 1993, Section 3, 3.

³¹⁵ NZ Superannuitants Federation AGM Minutes, "Report," December 1991.

their members made a “positive practical contribution” that helped older people “to live more comfortably” on their pension as well as giving the economy a boost.³¹⁶ Growing the commercial side of Grey Power was important to retain members and gain new ones. However, Grey Power noted that although the strength of their organisation came from the direct contact they had with their members and their ability to provide services to these members, this came at a cost in regard to their ability to spend time and resources on effective lobbying.³¹⁷ In the opinion of the 1995 Federation President Jim McKenzie, Grey Power “have a long way to go to improve our effectiveness as a lobby group”.³¹⁸ There were clear drawbacks for community and voluntary advocacy groups who lobbied for their peers as well as provided services for them. Lobbying the government on issues threatened to become less important to members compared with a particular service or product that was offered.

Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA did not work in isolation from each other. As they were all providers and advocates for older people in New Zealand, their paths crossed frequently, it was not uncommon for old people in the community to be members of Grey Power but also use Age Concern’s services for example. As the primary coordinator of services for older people, Age Concern frequently worked with groups and organisations that focused on older people, including Grey Power.³¹⁹ In Grey Power’s objectives, it stated that they promoted and established “links with welfare and other organisations which are concerned with the care and practical help for the elderly”.³²⁰ This collaboration assisted Age Concern as they could use Grey Power’s assertive and unrestricted voice to further mutual concerns without risking their contract funding, thus circumnavigating the limitations of the contract state for a provider who still wanted to be able to advocate for older people.

The period of time between the 1970s and early 2000s saw a dramatic change in the relationship between the government and the community and voluntary sector which had many implications for advocacy. The most striking change was seen from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. In particular, the move to a ‘contract state’. The informal and often personal

³¹⁶ New Zealand Superannuitants Federation, Report from Management Committee to Annual General Meeting June 1992, Folder 1992 -1993 AGM Minutes, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

³¹⁷ Jim McKenzie, “My Vision of Grey Power,” *Grey Power – The Magazine*, September (1995): 2.

³¹⁸ McKenzie, “My Vision of Grey Power,” 2.

³¹⁹ “Age Concern – Do You Know What They Do?,” *Maturity Today* 1, 2, (1990): 30.

³²⁰ NZ Superannuitants Federation AGM Minutes, “Report,” December 1991.

relationships built between organisations in the community and voluntary sector and the government during the welfare state were replaced by a system that both offloaded government responsibility to this sector, as well as increased government control. There was a breakdown in the relationship between the Government and the community and voluntary sector during the late 1980s and 1990s. Age Concern's reliance on government funding resulted in their advocacy activities being constricted because of their need to ensure their survival. However, changes to local government gave Age Concern a platform to advocate for the needs of local populations of older people. Grey Power and the NZRSA did not feel the same pressure, as they were able to fund their operations without government contribution. This allowed them to be more critical and more open about their opinion of government policy. The relationship between these groups and the government and their ability to advocate also relied on their ability to effectively meet the needs of the people they were representing both locally and nationally. However, they were also restricted by those they advocated for as they had to prioritise the issues of their members to hold their influence, even if it was not necessarily what the national office wanted to concentrate on. The growth in the population of older people resulted in the growth of Grey Power and Age Concern throughout New Zealand. The NZRSA did not experience as much of a growth until their membership criteria was opened up, and even then, this was still limited. The ability for these groups to continue to provide a service to older people in New Zealand throughout this period illustrates both the success of these groups as advocates, as well as a genuine need for the services they offered. As Age Concern wrote, "we cannot work in isolation from central Government, local authorities, other community organisations.... We are all part of the complex social framework and we must work together to achieve social justice for all".³²¹

³²¹ Age Concern National Old People's Welfare Council of NZ Inc., *Policy Manifesto for 1990*, 5.

Chapter three - Reframing old age: the development of ‘positive ageing’ in New Zealand

During the second half of the twentieth century, New Zealand began to experience a demographic transition. Medical advances coupled with low fertility saw the number and proportion of older people in New Zealand increase. Between 1951 and 1996, the number of people aged 65 and over in New Zealand more than doubled from 180,000 to 427,000.³²² Population ageing created both an urgent need and an opportunity to reframe concepts about old age and ageing. During the late 1980s and 1990s, Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA began to combat negative perceptions about ageing and old age through actively promoting positive ideas about older people and their contribution within society. Age Concern and Grey Power expanded their objectives to focus on a wider range of issues including the rights of older people. Through this, they hoped to combat ageist attitudes that hindered older people’s ability to participate fully in society and their ability to advocate. This demographic transition was not unique to New Zealand. The population ageing phenomenon put a spotlight on old age and ageing and its effect on society internationally. The World Assembly on Aging was the first global discussion about population ageing with 124 states represented. It focused on not only the problems of an ageing population, but issues surrounding ageing.³²³ This international conversation related to ageing and old age influenced governments and those who worked with and advocated for older people. Concepts of old age and ageing began to be consolidated through developing, standardizing and making it the subject of government policy. One concept on ageing that became a particular focus for the New Zealand Government was the concept of ‘positive ageing’. This concept was one of many that appeared in the latter half of the twentieth century, replacing notions of old age that was synonymous with frailty, dependency and uselessness. ‘Positive ageing’ aligned with neoliberal ideas adopted by the Fourth Labour government and the subsequent National government in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The concept helped create new state ‘infrastructure’ for ageing, in the form of ministries, task forces, and strategic plans during the 1980s and 1990s. ‘Positive ageing’ also became the focus of research into ageing in New Zealand. The government looked to those working in the community to help develop themes related to ageing. This allowed for Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA, to

³²² Alison McDonald, “Developing Long-Term Policy: The Approach Used by The Recent Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing,” *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* 10 (1998): 40.

³²³ United Nations, *Report of the World Assembly on Aging* (Vienna: United Nations Publication, 1982).; United Nations, *Vienna International Plan of action on aging* (New York: United Nations, 1983).

varying degrees, to become involved in consolidating the concept in New Zealand. The concept 'positive ageing' became fully immersed in government policy in New Zealand in 2001, where it became the focus of New Zealand's first strategy on ageing. The first section of this chapter will explore the discourse related to the concept positive ageing. The second section of this chapter will look at ageing and old age in New Zealand, the lead up to and the introduction of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* in 2001, and the role Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA played in its development.

Towards the end of the twentieth century ageist attitudes that perpetuated negative stereotypes of old age and ageing began to be challenged by policy makers and scholars as increasing attention was given to population ageing and how it would impact on health systems, economies and societies worldwide. By focusing on more positive aspects of ageing, the goal was to attempt to change the conversation and negative perceptions related to ageing by developing strategies to see ageing in a positive way. Concepts that emphasized positive, multidimensional views of ageing gradually replaced theories highlighting the unavoidable decline due to old age during the 1980s and 1990s.³²⁴ During this time, concepts of 'healthy', 'successful', 'positive', 'active' and 'productive ageing' emerged. The World Health Organization (WHO) focused on an idea of 'healthy ageing' that promoted the use of medical advances that would potentially overcome the 'problems' of older age.³²⁵ Tied in with this were notions of 'active ageing', which promoted the idea of older people staying both physically active and active in their communities to challenge the notions and stereotypes of older people as frail and dependent.³²⁶ 'Productive ageing' emerged amidst an increased focus on the economic implications of population ageing. This strategy regarded older people as a resource and emphasized their ongoing participation in society. The prominent model of 'successful ageing', developed by Rowe and Kahn, defined this concept as including three main components, the avoidance and decline of disease-related disability, the maintenance of high levels of physical and cognitive functioning, and sustained, active engagement in community and social life.³²⁷ 'Positive ageing' focused on the development and

³²⁴ Kimberly J. Johnson and Jan E. Mutchler, "The Emergence of a Positive Gerontology: From Disengagement to Social Involvement," *The Gerontologist* 54, 1 (2013): 93.

³²⁵ W. H. O. Ageing, *Ageing: Exploding the myths*, No. WHO/HSC/AHE/99.1 (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1999), 1.

³²⁶ Judith Davey and Kathy Glasgow, "Positive Ageing: A Critical Analysis," *Policy Quarterly* 2, 4 (2006): 22.

³²⁷ John Rowe and Robert Kahn, "Successful aging," *The Gerontologist* 37, 4 (1997): 433.

encouragement of a positive attitude towards ageing and old age. It was based on the principles of the *Ottawa Charter* (1986) and the *Jakarta Declaration* (1997).³²⁸

Since its emergence, ‘positive ageing’ has been embraced by both scholars and policy makers in ways that expanded its scope. Positive ageing discourse has focused on the things an individual can change about their attitude, lifestyle and skills. Notions of physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual wellbeing have been incorporated, as has psychological adjustment and autonomy, and a focus on the rights of older people.³²⁹ Positive ageing discourses construct ageing as an opportunity to continue to enjoy life by going against the idea that ageing and old age is a time of decline and poor health.³³⁰ Positive ageing starts from birth; however, it is often only looked at in relation to old age and what older people can do to age positively. While ‘positive ageing’ appears to unproblematically challenge negative stereotypes associated with old age and ageing, there have been a number of criticisms of this approach by academics. If an older person is unable to meet the targets of a positive ageing experience due to lack of appropriate resources, then they have failed.³³¹ Nicole Asquith argues that ‘positive ageing’ is consistent with a deficit model of ageing that states that “old people cause us troubles, so how can we make them responsible for fixing them for us?”.³³² The responsibility is placed on the older person to conform to these standards or risk being viewed upon negatively. This line of argument aligns with neoliberal ideas. When positive ageing and its relationship to neoliberalism is examined, positive ageing is consistent with neoliberal ideas that places an emphasis on lifestyle choices, including exercise and diet, but overlooks the physical, social and economic factors that shape the health and social outcomes of older people.³³³ It is easy to blame the older person for not doing all they could to age positively, and ignore the lack of support provided by the government or wider community that would help an older person to succeed. This parallels experiences of people affected by disability and how they were understood. For much of the twentieth century, people living

³²⁸ World Health Organization, “The Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion,” accessed September 6, 2019. <https://www.who.int/healthpromotion/conferences/previous/ottawa/en/>; World Health Organization, “Jakarta Declaration on Leading Health Promotion into the 21st Century,” accessed September 6, 2019. <https://www.who.int/healthpromotion/conferences/previous/jakarta/declaration/en/>.

³²⁹ Davey and Glasgow, “Positive Ageing,” 22.

³³⁰ Rachael Pack, Carri Hand, Debbie Laliberte Rudman and Suzanne Huot, “Governing the ageing body: explicating the negotiation of ‘positive’ ageing in daily life,” *Ageing and Society* 39 (2019): 2086.

³³¹ Nicole Asquith, “Positive ageing, neoliberalism and Australian sociology,” *Journal of Sociology* 45, 3 (2009): 266.

³³² Asquith, “Positive ageing, neoliberalism and Australian sociology,” 266.

³³³ Pack, et al., “Governing the ageing body,” 2088.

with disabilities were viewed as ‘unproductive’.³³⁴ From a rights perspective and from an enabling perspective, the removal of social barriers created the perception that people with disabilities were more ‘productive’ members of society. But for many inclusion and economic productivity would never be possible.³³⁵ Positive ageing requires more than an individual’s response to ageing and old age, communities and governments are also implicated in the process.

During the second half of the twentieth century a rhetoric emerged, particularly in Western societies, that implied that ageing or ‘greying’ of the population would bring about a ‘crisis’.³³⁶ Ageing was perceived as a societal problem. Older people were viewed in terms of the cost and burden they would be on the economy, health systems and society as a whole. As explored in chapter one, attitudes towards any specific group of people, older people included were informed by a number of different outlets, including the media, government policies, laws, regulations and by other influential people in the community. In New Zealand, a common view persisted that people’s contribution to society finished with their paid working days.³³⁷ The introduction of neoliberal ideas into society reinforced this perception. Up until 1999, retirement as dictated by eligibility of the pension either at 60 or 65, was often compulsory.³³⁸ This resulted in older people being considered by the community as a group who were not contributing to society, specifically the economy. For those who were still in employment, older people faced serious discrimination when it came to employment and employment opportunities.³³⁹ Even with the passing of the *Human Rights Commission Amendment Act* in 1992 which called for the end of age discrimination in the workplace, Elkin argued that “[a]ge prejudice continues largely unabated”.³⁴⁰ This discrimination on the basis of age, otherwise known as ageism has been described as being as “prevalent and as

³³⁴ Sarah Rose, *No right to be idle: the invention of disability 1840s-1930s* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 2-3.

³³⁵ Edmund Coleman-Fountain, Roy Sainsbury, Bruno Trezzini and Šárka Káňová, “Diversity and change in the labour market careers of persons with disabilities,” in *Understanding the Lived Experiences of Persons with Disabilities in Nine Countries: Active Citizenship and Disability in Europe*, vol. 2, ed. Rune Halvorsen, Bjørn Hvinden, Julie Beadle Brown, Mario Biggeri, Jan Tøssebro, and Anne Waldschmidt (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 72.; See also Randall Owen and Sarah Parker Harris, “‘No Rights without Responsibilities’: Disability Rights and Neoliberal Reform Under New Labour,” *Disability Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2012).

³³⁶ Davey and Glasgow, “Positive Ageing,” 21.

³³⁷ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 18.

³³⁸ Human Rights Commission, *Age and Retirement in the Public Service*, 3.

³³⁹ Bernard Kaiser, *Rights Not Charity: A Preliminary Study of the National Productivity of the Over 60 Group* (Wellington: B. Kaiser, 1974), 3.

³⁴⁰ Elkin, “Ageism in the ‘Quarter Acre, Pavlova Paradise’,” 8.

insidious as sexism and racism” in New Zealand society.³⁴¹ Along with ageism in the workplace, older people were often referred to as a ‘burden’ on healthcare services. The article ‘Warning on health burden of aged’ published in the Dominion Post in 1998 demonstrates this point. The article calls for more research to be done on the impact of an ageing population on healthcare costs as it predicts older people will become an increasing stress healthcare services and the healthcare dollar.³⁴² Up until the mid-1980s, New Zealand had one of the highest rates of rest-home residency in the Western World.³⁴³ The expansion of institutional care did not help dispel negative perceptions of the dependency of older people. However, those who entered institutions were only a small percentage of older people. It was estimated in 1984 that 94 percent of those over the age of 65 actually lived in the community.³⁴⁴ There was still a significant number of those over the age of 60 and 65 who were active and in paid, full or part-time, unpaid or voluntary work.³⁴⁵ Despite this, negative stereotypes were ingrained in the community.

Negative perceptions of older people impacted on Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA as both advocates for older people, and as organisations that comprised of older people. In a NZRSA Dominion Council Meeting address by Sir William Leuchars in 1986, he mentioned how “[i]t was a sad day in our history when a number of retired defense chiefs who...felt obliged to make their views known to Government and were dismissed out of hand as a bunch of ‘geriatric generals’”.³⁴⁶ Ageist attitudes expressed by the government resulted in both the NZRSA and Grey Power using their platform to remind the government why it should be looking out for older people. In the same 1986 address, on the topic of war pensions, Leuchars highlighted the fact that 40 years had passed since the end of World War II, and in fact many politicians had been born since 1945.³⁴⁷ He argued that “[s]uch people often have little concept of the sacrifices made by previous generations.”³⁴⁸ Grey Power shared a similar sentiment. In a press release, Grey Power stated that older people “must not

³⁴¹ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 18.

³⁴² Erin Kennedy, “Warning on health burden of aged,” *The Dominion* December 30, 1998, 2.

³⁴³ Swarbrick, “Care and carers.”

³⁴⁴ Davidson, “Facts and Fiction about Ageing and the Elderly,” 5.

³⁴⁵ Bernard Kaiser, *Rights Not Charity*, 4.

³⁴⁶ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council Annual Report 1985-1986, “NZRSA Dominion Council Meeting Address, Sir William Leuchars,” 3.

³⁴⁷ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council Annual Report 1985-1986, “NZRSA Dominion Council Meeting Address, Sir William Leuchars,” 2.

³⁴⁸ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council Annual Report 1985-1986, “NZRSA Dominion Council Meeting Address, Sir William Leuchars,” 2.

be penalized” for excess government spending on social welfare as they had already contributed and defended New Zealand, helping it develop and grow.³⁴⁹ Concluding that “this country must respect and support its older people during their retirement years”.³⁵⁰ Evoking this rhetoric related to previous sacrifices made by the older generation was an interesting strategy used both groups. The conjuring up of this rhetoric coincided with what has been described as an ANZAC day ‘renaissance’ in the 1980s, where political events and media linked national identity and war in the public eye.³⁵¹ Grey Power and the NZRSA were took advantage of the greater respect paid to returned soldiers in ANZAC services to remind the government of the service and sacrifices made by older people. This was a way to remind the government that older people were part of the national identity of New Zealand despite the government dismissing them due to their age.

One such issues that caused contention in New Zealand at both a community and government level was New Zealand Superannuation. Like many other western democracies, New Zealand consolidated the concept of old age and ageing though making it the subject of government policy. Most commonly, old age was defined by pension eligibility. In New Zealand during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the pension was constantly challenged and changed by government. As discussed in chapter one, in 1977, Robert Muldoon’s National Government introduced New Zealand Superannuation, making it eligible for to those over 60 years of age.³⁵² The rights of the older person in New Zealand were given a significant boost through the introduction of this scheme.³⁵³ However, this was not to last. The ballooning of social welfare costs and slumping economy saw this pension scheme challenged through neoliberal reforms by the Fourth Labour Government elected in 1984. Pension eligibility was again changed in the early 1990s with the introduction of the “Mother of all Budgets” following Nationals election in 1990. Changes to the pension, now dubbed Guaranteed Retirement Income (GRI) resulted in the age of eligibility gradually increasing to 65 between 1993 and 2001, as well as an attempt to transform it into a welfare benefit through the introduction of a

³⁴⁹ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., “Joint Press Release.”

³⁵⁰ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., “Joint Press Release.”

³⁵¹ New Zealand History, “ANZAC Day,” accessed June 20, 2019. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/modern-anzac-day>.

³⁵² Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

³⁵³ McClure, “A Badge of Poverty or a Symbol of Citizenship,” 151.

surcharge.³⁵⁴ Most New Zealanders differentiated New Zealand Superannuation from other social welfare benefits. New Zealand Superannuation was seen, especially by older people, as more of a right, earned through the payment of taxes and contribution to the country's prosperity.³⁵⁵ Social welfare benefits however, were classified as 'charity' by older people, yet still considered as a necessity.³⁵⁶ As a result of changes made to the eligibility of benefits, a negative stigma developed in relation to their receipt. This attempt to change the premise of superannuation challenged the view many pensioners had of themselves. Grey Power argued that the GRI cutback "justifie[d] investigation by the serious fraud office... [the government] are playing a huge confidence trick on older New Zealanders".³⁵⁷ This sentiment was echoed by many older people and supporters of older people's rights throughout New Zealand.³⁵⁸

Despite income security being identified by many reports as being a crucial measure of an older person being able to live well in old age, there was a significant proportion of New Zealanders who agreed that the superannuation scheme was too generous and that cutbacks and taxes on such were warranted. This view was also reiterated in correspondence between Age Concern and the Associate Finance Minister R. W. Prebble of the Fourth Labour Government after their proposal of a surtax on New Zealand Superannuation. Prebble disregarded the need of superannuitants because of the view that New Zealand Superannuation had been financing "new cars and overseas holidays for well-off superannuitants".³⁵⁹ Prebble added that as a result the previous government was "mortgaging the future development and jobs prospects of New Zealand... Labour, as a new Government... had to ask everyone in the community to help, who can help - the businessmen, farmers, salary-earners, wage-worker: and those over 60".³⁶⁰ Older people were viewed as not deserving of a 'bigger slice of the pie,' not only by the public, but more importantly by the Government. David Thomson, writing in the 1990s, predicted that "[u]gly

³⁵⁴ Littlewood, "A condensed history of public and private provision for retirement income in New Zealand, 1975-2008," 4.

³⁵⁵ Turnbull, "Attitudes of Older People," 18.

³⁵⁶ Turnbull, "Attitudes of Older People," 18.

³⁵⁷ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., "Joint Press Release."

³⁵⁸ Starke, *Radical welfare state retrenchments*, 92.

³⁵⁹ R W Prebble to W R Lake, National Old People's Welfare Council Letter, 9 October 1985, National Old Peoples Welfare Council – General 1981-1985, Box 193, Record Number O&D 40, National Archives, Wellington.

³⁶⁰ R W Prebble to W R Lake, National Old People's Welfare Council Letter, 9 October 1985.

talk of ‘the greedy elderly’” will cause problems when attempting to debate policy issues, specifically when considering how to prepare for an ageing population.³⁶¹

Age Concern and Grey Power attempted to change the conversation and contested negative attitudes towards ageing, old age, and older people at both a community and governmental level by actively promoting positive ideas about ageing and the contribution of older people to society, even before it became the focus of governmental policy. In the 1986 publication ‘A voice for the Elderly,’ Age Concern explained their focus was to encourage and assist older people to continue to contribute “actively” in the community, arguing that older people have been, and still are, a vital part of their communities.³⁶² Age Concern also focused on educating the community about the contribution of older people “for the welfare, not only of [older people], but of the community”.³⁶³ Age Concern was responsible for raising these issues within government agencies, while their regional councils were active in promoting initiatives demonstrating the contributions older people make in their communities at a local level.³⁶⁴ Age Concern’s focus at all levels was to assist older people to age in a positive manner which is reflected in their mission “to preserve the dignity and improve the quality of life and well-being of older people throughout New Zealand.”³⁶⁵ As well as the following key goals:

- to empower older people to ensure equality and quality of life
- to ensure the availability of services and opportunities which meet the needs and aspirations of older people
- to promote understanding and positive attitudes towards older people and the ageing process.³⁶⁶

Age Concern, almost from its inception, was committed to promoting positive ageing ideas to the community and government. By including education as a key factor in their plan, Age

³⁶¹ David Thomson, *Selfish Generations? How welfare states grow old* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 1996), 53.

³⁶² Age Concern, “A Voice for the Elderly,” 2.

³⁶³ Age Concern, “A Voice for the Elderly,” 2.

³⁶⁴ Senior Citizens Unit, “Issues Papers for the Minister for Senior Citizens,” last modified October 2, 1996. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/feature/issues-papers-minister-senior-citizens>.

³⁶⁵ Age Concern National Old People’s Welfare Council of NZ Inc., *Policy Manifesto for 1990*, 1.

³⁶⁶ Age Concern National Old People’s Welfare Council of NZ Inc., *Policy Manifesto for 1990*, 1.

Concern emphasised the importance of positive ideas and views of older people and old age for the benefit of the community.

Promoting, advocating and educating the community on the rights of the older person also became a particular focus for both Age Concern and Grey Power, especially during the 1990s. Focusing on rights was a key strategy used by many protest and advocacy groups in New Zealand since the 1960s. During this time, there was an increased focus on individual rights, a concept which was supported by the ratification of the *International Bill of Human Rights* by many democratic countries, including New Zealand.³⁶⁷ *The International Bill of Human Rights* included *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), which was the first legal document protecting universal human rights, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*.³⁶⁸ These documents, in principle, set out the rights for people of all ages. However specific reference to older people was unusual.³⁶⁹ Using human rights standards to advocate for older people helped characterise older people's needs within a framework that was inclusive of all people from different backgrounds.³⁷⁰ As human rights were a concept that all ages could understand and become passionate about, educating the community about the universality of human rights was an important part of the process.³⁷¹ In the 1994 edition of *The Superannuitants Lifestyle Quarterly* Jacques Vannort explained that "[m]ost of us regard the State as a protector of our rights and find it difficult to believe that the State often ignores our rights, but it is quite evident that discrimination of older adults is on the rise and that the State may also be the perpetrator".³⁷² In the same article Vannort suggested that Grey Power was looking towards international law and covenants to both counter domestic enactments that discriminate or offer insufficient protection for older people.³⁷³ Grey Power secured its interest at looking after the Rights of older people in New Zealand with the "Human Rights

³⁶⁷ United Nations: Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, "International Human Rights Law," accessed July 15, 2018. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/Pages/InternationalLaw.aspx>.

³⁶⁸ United Nations, "Protect Human Rights," accessed July 15, 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/what-we-do/protect-human-rights/index.html>.

³⁶⁹ Silvia Perel-Levin, "Stigma, dementia and age," 91.

³⁷⁰ Morgan and David, "Human Rights," 437.

³⁷¹ Morgan and David, "Human Rights," 436.

³⁷² Jacques Vannort, "The New Human Rights Act and Discrimination of Older New Zealanders," *Superannuitants Lifestyle Quarterly* March (1994): 10.

³⁷³ Vannort, "The New Human Rights Act and Discrimination of Older New Zealanders," 10

Act” appearing on their 1997 lobbying agenda.³⁷⁴ Age Concern also began to concentrate on Human Rights issues that impacted older people. In 1990, Age Concern added Human Rights to their 1990 policy manifesto, signaling a widening in focus for their lobbying and advocacy work.³⁷⁵ This adoption aimed to get the point across that older people too should be receiving basic human rights and that their age should not be a hinderance to receiving these. This work began to shape conversations regarding old age and ageing in the community and at government level.

At a governmental level, New Zealand’s views on ageing and old age were influenced by international trends and ideas focusing on population ageing. The first global discussion about population ageing was the World Assembly on Aging in 1982. Previously, the subject of the position of older people in society had only received incidental attention in various United Nations bodies specifically concerned with other social questions. From the World Assembly on Aging, the *Vienna International Plan of Action* was adopted by international consensus. It was the first document focusing specifically on ageing and old age. It aimed to “strengthen the capacity of governments and civil society to respond to the needs of ageing populations while also promoting older persons as vital resources for all societies”.³⁷⁶ *The Plan* outlined sixty-two recommendations for policy actions within seven key “areas of concern to aging individuals” including health and nutrition, protection of elderly consumers, housing and the environment, the family, social welfare, income security and employment, and education.³⁷⁷ These areas of concern covered not only issues affecting older people as individuals, but also those relating to the ageing of the population. Two recommendations, recommendation 46 and 49, considered the importance of highlighting the positive aspects of ageing to change stereotypical attitudes towards ageing and old age.³⁷⁸ Promoting positive aspects of ageing to the wider community was essential for enabling policy regarding old age and ageing to be implemented effectively. *The Plan* also encouraged older people to be active participants in the formulation and implementation of policies, especially those regarding

³⁷⁴ New Zealand National Superannuitants Federation Inc., “Report from Management Committee to Annual General Meeting August 1997: Lobbying Report,” Folder 1997 -1998 AGM Minutes, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

³⁷⁵ Age Concern National Old People’s Welfare Council of NZ Inc., *Policy Manifesto for 1990*, 6.

³⁷⁶ United Nations, *Vienna International Plan of action on aging*, point 3.

³⁷⁷ United Nations, *Vienna International Plan of action on aging*, section III.

³⁷⁸ United Nations, *Vienna International Plan of action on aging*, recommendation 46; 49.

them and their peers.³⁷⁹ While this plan encouraged individual countries to develop frameworks of standards and strategies to deal with the many questions raised about population ageing, the non-legal binding character of this document meant that reporting to the UN legislative and consultative bodies on their implementation was voluntary.³⁸⁰

Having contributed to the World Assembly on Ageing through the report *Ageing New Zealanders*, New Zealand was to a certain degree committed to the ideas and strategies proposed by *The Plan*. The primary purpose of the report was to provide a “factual document on the situation of the elderly in New Zealand”.³⁸¹ The report stated that the biggest handicap to the interests of older people in New Zealand was public attitudes, and that both the young and the old needed to view old age “positively and realistically”.³⁸² Two years after the World Assembly, the New Zealand Social Advisory Council published a report called *The Extra Years*. This report was prepared to “assist consideration of policies for the increasing number of persons within the older age groups of New Zealand’s population”.³⁸³ Its third chapter ‘Promoting a Positive attitude’ is of particular interest. Taking on board recommendations from *the Plan*, promoting a positive attitude to ageing was said to be important to dispel common myths about old people being inactive, frail and dependent.³⁸⁴ These negative attitudes were not prevalent throughout all of New Zealand however, as Māori culture holds great respect for its elders. The report states that media played an important part in both reflecting and forming public attitudes, however it argued that the most effective way to change attitudes would result from the action of older people themselves.³⁸⁵ This line of thought aligns with the positive ageing discourse explored above, as it puts the older person at the centre as the one who needs to make changes in order for others to perceive them positively. This, in part, allowed for individuals at a government level to shift the blame from the potential lack of services and support they offered, to the lack of effort made by older people to change their situation within society. In regard to changing

³⁷⁹ United Nations, *Vienna International Plan of action on aging*, principle 1.

³⁸⁰ Alexandre Sidorenko and Asghar Zaidi, “International Policy Frameworks on Ageing: Assessing Progress in Reference to The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing,” *The Journal of Social Policy Studies* 16, 1 (2018): 142.

³⁸¹ Barker, Caghey and Guthrie, *Ageing New Zealanders*, 2.

³⁸² Davidson, “Facts and Fiction about Ageing and the Elderly,” 7.

³⁸³ L. W. Gandar, “Forward,” in *The Extra Years: Some Implications for New Zealand Society of an Ageing Population* (Wellington: Social Advisory Council, 1984), 7.

³⁸⁴ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 18.

³⁸⁵ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 21.

perceptions related to ageing and old age, the Minister in charge of Broadcasting, the Ministers of Health, Education and State Services were all requested to use their channels to promote a positive attitude towards ageing and old age in the report.³⁸⁶ In total 34 recommendations were made aimed at the Crown and a number of government ministries on a wide number of issues relating to older people.³⁸⁷ This signifies an important step in the development of the notion of positive ageing in New Zealand.

Two years after the publishing of *The Extra Years*, a question was posed to the Ministers of Education, Health, Broadcasting, State Services, Social welfare, Recreation & Sport, Internal Affairs and Housing to gauge what actions they had taken to implement the recommendations made in the report.³⁸⁸ While there were a number of instances where ministries had given grants to encourage the support of older people regarding education, housing and social welfare, the majority of the actions that were reported were not drastically different to what had been done previously.³⁸⁹ Many in fact were a continuation of current actions. These findings were consistent with that of the second review of *the Plan* in 1989. While progress had been made in regard to the awareness of an ageing population, little progress had been made in terms of policies and programmes globally; “[f]ar from anticipating the process of ageing, they have not even kept pace with it”.³⁹⁰ An important distinction can be made between the formulation of ideas and their implementation. Despite the increasing urgency conveyed by the UN and WHO to examine ageing, a comprehensive investigation of ageing and older people’s issues at government level did not occur in New Zealand until the late 1990s. Regardless of this lack of firm policy, the New Zealand government implemented a number of things that will be explored in more detail below, that showed their commitment to researching and exploring issues relating to population ageing, old age and ageing, as well as defining the position of older New Zealanders in society.

Up until the 1990s, the needs and interests of older people were not consistently represented by any one government. This made it hard for those advocating on behalf of older people’s needs to be heard. The introduction of a Minister for Senior Citizens in 1990, and a Senior

³⁸⁶ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 22.

³⁸⁷ New Zealand Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years*, 22.

³⁸⁸ House of Representatives, “Written Responses, Recommendations – ‘The Extra Years’,” in *Parliamentary Debates: Second Session, Forty-first Parliament*, vol. 473, 1986, 4028-4031.

³⁸⁹ House of Representatives, “Written Responses, Recommendations – ‘The Extra Years’,” 4028-4031.

³⁹⁰ United Nations, *Second Review and Appraisal of the Implementation of the International Plan of Action on Ageing. Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: United Nations, 1989), 11.

Citizen's unit in 1992 signified a significant step in understanding the increasing importance of the older person in relation to public policy. Both the National and Labour parties endorsed the principle of appointing a Minister for Senior Citizens committing government action and focus on population ageing in New Zealand and the issues related to it. The role of the Minister for Senior Citizen was to "advocate for older people at Cabinet and other government policy forums".³⁹¹ This should have made it easier for organisations such as Age Concern and Grey Power to lobby government, however Grey Power expressed their discontent with the appointment. Three years after its introduction, Grey Power argued that the Minister of Senior Citizens had not been "in touch with us, nor we understand, with other organisations for the elderly".³⁹² This lack of collaboration reflected the breakdown of the relationship between the government and the community and voluntary sector in New Zealand at the beginning of the 1990s as discussed above. This shortcoming by the Senior Citizen's minister was resolved by 1996, as officials of the Senior Citizen's Unit stated that they worked with both Grey Power and Age Concern.³⁹³ In a speech made at a Grey Power AGM in 1997, Robyn McDonald, Minister for Seniors, extended an invitation to "work co-operatively together" on issues relating to older people, and for Grey Power to use her to advance their issues.³⁹⁴ There was now a commitment by the Minister for Senior Citizen's to build a close relationship with Grey Power and Age Concern and to pursue their problems in government. This relationship was described to be "mutually beneficial" in that it allowed the Unit to pass on relevant information on policy issues and respond to concerns at an early stage, as well as allowing organisations representing the interests of older people to become more political and outspoken in presenting their views.³⁹⁵ The importance of a Minister for Seniors was seen in its growing portfolio, incorporating positive ageing, health, retirement income, housing, security, transport and other issues.³⁹⁶ In 1996, the Senior Citizen's Unit emphasised the need to begin planning for an older population.³⁹⁷

³⁹¹ Senior Citizens Unit, "Issues Papers for the Minister for Senior Citizens."

³⁹² G T Drain to the Rt. Hon. The Prime Minister and all Members of Parliament, New Zealand Superannuitants Federation letter, April 1, 1993, Folder 1992 -1993 AGM Minutes, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

³⁹³ Senior Citizens Unit, "Issues Papers for the Minister for Senior Citizens."

³⁹⁴ Robyn McDonald, "Valuing our Senior Citizens," last modified April 8, 1997. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/valuing-our-senior-citizens>

³⁹⁵ Senior Citizens Unit, "Issues Papers for the Minister for Senior Citizens."

³⁹⁶ New Zealand Office for Senior Citizens, "Overview," in *Briefing to the incoming Minister for Senior Citizens: Towards lifelong participation and independence* (Wellington: The Office, 2003), 1.

³⁹⁷ Senior Citizens Unit, "Issues Papers for the Minister for Senior Citizens."

In May 1996, the Government created the Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing following a request from Peter Dune, leader of the United New Zealand Party, to explore the issues and options for promoting positive ageing in the population.³⁹⁸ The use of an independent task force was not new, in fact, one had been used four years prior that had led to the establishment of the Multi-Party Accord on Retirement Income Policies and *The Retirement Income Act* of 1993.³⁹⁹ What was new was the adoption of the concept of ‘positive ageing’ so explicitly. Reflecting the local and international discourses of positive ageing, the Task Force aligned with and facilitated neoliberal ideas adopted by previous governments in New Zealand, however this Task Force went further to explore not only what the individual could do to age positively, but also how the government and community could help support them. At the basic level, this Task Force argued that “‘positive ageing’ is about ‘positive living’”.⁴⁰⁰ The Task Force was made up of five people, David Harrison, David Richmond, Sue Suckling and Alan Nixon, chaired by Sir Ross Jansen, who had knowledge of the needs of older people and experience working in and with the community and voluntary sector.⁴⁰¹ This Task Force was asked to build on the report *Care for Older People in New Zealand*.⁴⁰² Incorporated into their brief was the task to consider how New Zealand could ensure that people were able to “move through their lives towards a health, independent, safe, secure and dignified old age; one in which they can participate in and contribute to society”.⁴⁰³ Equally important was how the Task Force considered the effects of current policies and programmes aimed at older people.⁴⁰⁴ This discussion began to solidify what positive ageing was to look like in New Zealand.

³⁹⁸ McDonald, “Developing Long-Term Policy,” 1.

³⁹⁹ In 1992, the government established the Task Force on Private Provision for Retirement, usually referred to as The Todd Task Force; McDonald, “Developing Long-Term Policy,” 2.

⁴⁰⁰ New Zealand Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Facing the Future: Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing* (Wellington: Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1996), 9.

⁴⁰¹ David Harrison, then Chairman of the Lottery Aged Distribution Committee who also had extensive background in the insurance industry brought knowledge of the broader social services sector relating to older people. Professor David Richmond, then Assistant Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Auckland and consultant specialist in geriatric medicine provided expertise on health sector issues. Sue Suckling, OBE, who had extensive experience in strategic management in the private and public sectors provided knowledge in strategy. Alan Nixon, the then Chief Policy Advisor of the Social Policy Agency of the Department of Social Welfare brought knowledge of government policies and process and links to the Senior Citizens Unit. Sir Ross Jansen, then Chairman of the Midland Regional Health Authority provided leadership and public consultation skills.; New Zealand Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Facing the Future*, 2.

⁴⁰² New Zealand Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, New Zealand, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Facing the Future*, 16.

⁴⁰³ McDonald, “Developing Long-Term Policy,” 1.

⁴⁰⁴ McDonald, “Developing Long-Term Policy,” 1.

The Task Force were required to undertake two rounds of consultation in an 18-month time-frame to help them consider what individuals, families, communities, businesses, employers and government may need to achieve these ends.⁴⁰⁵ During July and August 1996, the Task Force held 44 public consultation seminars from Kaitia to Invercargill, entitled ‘Facing the Future’.⁴⁰⁶ In the lead up to these consultations, a booklet was produced bearing the same title, to steer the conversation towards five issues. These included planning, managing resources, attitudes to ageing and older people, co-ordination of services and the issue of wellbeing and the “recognition that people do not become fundamentally different when they reach an age at which they are arbitrarily defined as ‘old’”.⁴⁰⁷ Although a time-consuming process, the consultation was important to get community commitment as the Task Force argued that the government could not deliver ‘positive ageing’ to New Zealand society on its own.⁴⁰⁸ This approach mirrored the commitment by Age Concern in particular to educate the community about the contributions made by older people to the wider society and economy, particularly through voluntary and unpaid work. Community consultation also meant that Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA were able to get involved and advocate on behalf of their members and older people in the community. The NZRSA advised their local associations throughout New Zealand as to when a seminar was to be held in their area to ensure that the NZRSA’s voice was represented.⁴⁰⁹ Grey Power were also involved in this consultation. They commented on the reality of older New Zealanders, including the lack of positive portrayals of older people in the media and the disappointment that superannuation was not considered within the scope of the report.⁴¹⁰ They noted that the Task Force had been met with “widespread cynicism about the ability of government to maintain well-defined and aligned policies”.⁴¹¹ This point stressed a persistent challenge to the adoption of positive ageing concepts.

⁴⁰⁵ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council, “Annual Report 1997,” N.Z.R.S.A. Archives, Wellington, 13.

⁴⁰⁶ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council, “Annual Report 1997,” 13.

⁴⁰⁷ New Zealand Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, New Zealand, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Facing the Future*, 11.

⁴⁰⁸ McDonald, “Developing Long-Term Policy,” 3.

⁴⁰⁹ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council, “Annual Report 1997,” 13.

⁴¹⁰ New Zealand Superannuitants, “What the group heard and found,” *The Superannuitants: A lifestyle Guide and Catalogue* (1997): 14.

⁴¹¹ New Zealand Superannuitants, “What the group heard and found,” 14.

The final report of the Task Force *Facing the Future* was presented to the Government on 1 July 1997 which contained a number of recommendations for the Government and those in the community on the issue of positive ageing. A number of themes emerged, including the need to acknowledge the diversity of older people, to rethink the nature of retirement and to accept that life is a continuum and aging in fact begins at birth.⁴¹² By the end of 1997 the Government had considered the recommendations made and commented on their planned course of action. The Government identified sixteen action plans as ones that they had already embarked on through different policy initiatives, a further seven action plans were considered outside the government's scope or did not make economic sense to pursue.⁴¹³ That left six action plans that the Government agreed to examine as part of the 1998/99 budget process.⁴¹⁴ There were a number of recommendations that involved some form of partnership between government and others, and approximately one third were specifically designed for implementation by those in the community, without government involvement.⁴¹⁵ These recommendations for those in the community resulted in increasing references being made about positive ageing in the media as seen in articles in the major New Zealand newspapers such as the Press 'Language of ageing', the New Zealand Herald 'Task force breaks down the age-old barriers' and the Evening Post, 'Age taskforce wants attitude change'.⁴¹⁶ These articles challenged ageist views of older people in New Zealand and facilitated wider conversations in the community about 'positive ageing' as a concept for those not only interested in the wellbeing of older people.

Towards the end of the 1990s, 'positive ageing' had been embraced in New Zealand as a concept. In terms of governmental policy, positive ageing ideas were beginning to be adopted and promoted by the Department of Social Welfare, which stated an increased participation of older people in society as a policy goal.⁴¹⁷ To further the ideas of positive ageing the New Zealand government decided to participate in the UN's International Year of Older Persons

⁴¹² New Zealand Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Facing the Future*, 11.

⁴¹³ McDonald, "Developing Long-Term Policy," 4.

⁴¹⁴ McDonald, "Developing Long-Term Policy," 4.

⁴¹⁵ McDonald, "Developing Long-Term Policy," 4.

⁴¹⁶ Editorial, "Language of ageing," *The Press*, June 28, 1997, 23.; Warren Gamble, "Task force breaks down the age-old barriers," *New Zealand Herald*, July 2, 1997, 20.; Sarah Boyd, "Age taskforce wants attitude change," *The Evening Post*, July 1, 1997, 2.

⁴¹⁷ Department of Social Welfare, *From Welfare to Well-being: bringing the threads together* (Wellington: Department of Social Welfare, 1996), 10.

(IYOP) in 1999. The IYOP was to globally promote ageing and old age. The theme “Towards a Society for All Ages” was chosen in recognition of “humanity’s demographic coming of age and the promise it holds for maturing attitudes and capabilities in social, economic, cultural and spiritual undertakings, not least for global peace and development in the next century”.⁴¹⁸ The United Nations saw this year as an opportunity for those in the community and voluntary sector to work together to raise awareness of ageing issues. Age Concern and Grey Power were consulted about the types of projects that should be funded throughout the year and representatives of each organisation were involved in planning meetings with the Senior Citizens Unit.⁴¹⁹ Both organisations also connected to promote to issues relating to older people in New Zealand during this year.⁴²⁰ The NZRSA, through a representative, also was involved in the planning meetings for IYOP and were kept up to date with activities through information sent by the Senior Citizens Unit.⁴²¹ In New Zealand, the celebration of this year had two primary objectives, preparing for an ageing population and promoting positive attitudes to ageing and older people.⁴²² Individual councils of Age Concern were involved in organising events that shared ideas of positive ageing, as well as events for older people themselves.⁴²³ Involving members of the community made communities more receptive to the concept of positive ageing as a way combat ageist perceptions and stereotypes. Research to investigate and identify factors that allowed older people to remain independent was also funded during this year. Gray Matter Research produced a report identifying the critical support issues for older people, with positive attitudes to ageing being the highest priority.⁴²⁴

The commitment to the concept of ‘positive ageing’ by the New Zealand Government reached its pinnacle in the formation of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* in 2001. The Office for Senior Citizens lead the development of this strategy. Widespread consultation with a number of older people’s experts and advisory groups, key sector organisations, individuals and

⁴¹⁸ United Nations, “International Year of Older Persons 1999,” accessed June 20, 2019.

<https://www.un.org/development/desa/ageing/resources/international-year-of-older-persons-1999.html>.

⁴¹⁹ New Zealand Ministry of Social Policy, Senior Citizens Unit, *International Year of Older Persons 1999: Final Report = Te Tau Whakatairanga Kaumātua Puta i Te Ao* (Wellington: Ministry of Social Policy, 2000), 6.

⁴²⁰ New Zealand Superannuitants Federation Meeting Minutes, “Correspondence with Age Concern,” 19 October 1998, Folder 1998 -1999 AGM Minutes, Grey Power Archives, Auckland.

⁴²¹ N.Z.R.S.A. Dominion Council, “Annual Report 1999,” N.Z.R.S.A. Archives, Wellington, 15.

⁴²² Senior Citizens Unit, “Issues Papers for the Minister for Senior Citizens.”

⁴²³ Age Concern, “Celebrating year of older people,” *The press*, March 12, 1999, 2.

⁴²⁴ New Zealand Ministry of Social Policy, Senior Citizens Unit, *International Year of Older Persons 1999*, 8.

communities of interest was a central part of the strategy's development. The Government decided to take an approach which acted to dismantle the "barriers that segregate older people from the rest of society".⁴²⁵ This approach mirrored the Task Force on Positive Ageing as well as the recommendation made by World Assembly on Aging through the *Vienna International Plan of Action*. This consultation allowed for organisations such as Grey Power and Age Concern to be involved from the outset and throughout the development process. Through the consultation process of the *Positive Ageing Strategy*, community and voluntary groups such as Age Concern and Grey Power solidified their place in the development of public policy relating to older people in New Zealand. Grey Power played a significant role in development of the *Positive Ageing Strategy*. A Positive Ageing Reference Group was created to provide advice to the Ministry of Social Policy on social ageing issues, and its members were appointed by the Minister for Senior Citizens.⁴²⁶ Grey Power's representation in the Positive Ageing Reference Group was through Betty Cuthbert, a prominent member of Grey Power and experienced activist and Graham Stairmand, the National President of Grey Power.⁴²⁷ The appointment of members of Grey Power reflects an understanding by the Minister that Grey Power is a key voice for older people in New Zealand. Regional Grey Power federations were also represented through volunteer community co-ordinators in Western Bay of Plenty, New Plymouth, Manawatu, Wainuiomata, and Hokitika.⁴²⁸ They organised consultations in their communities to seek feedback on the 'positive ageing principles', as well as identify priority issues for action in the Strategy.⁴²⁹ Older people were engaged from the outset to define the issues and activities covered by the Strategy.

Age Concern was also heavily involved in the formation of the *Positive Ageing Strategy*. Age Concern, in their *Ageing is Living: A Guide to Positive Ageing*, presented a definition of 'positive ageing', arguing that it is "not about how to live longer. Nor is it about how to avoid

⁴²⁵ New Zealand Prime Ministerial Task Force on Positive Ageing, Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Facing the Future*, 1.

⁴²⁶ "Appendix 6: Key Contributors to the Positive Ageing Strategy," in Lianne Dalziel, *The New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy: Towards a Society for all Ages = He Anga Oranga Kau Mō Ngā Whakatipuranga Katoa* (Wellington, Ministry of Social Policy, 2001), 31.

⁴²⁷ "Appendix 6: Key Contributors to the Positive Ageing Strategy," 31.

⁴²⁸ "Appendix 6: Key Contributors to the Positive Ageing Strategy," 32.

⁴²⁹ "Appendix 6: Key Contributors to the Positive Ageing Strategy," 32.

growing old. It is about making the most of the benefits of being older”.⁴³⁰ This illustrates Age Concern’s understanding and interpretation of the positive ageing construct which influenced their involvement in the formation of *the Strategy*. Dr Margaret Guthrie the Chief Executive of Age Concern at the time was appointed to the Positive Ageing Reference group to provide input to the development of the New Zealand *Positive Ageing Strategy*.⁴³¹ The appointment of a member of Age Concern reflected an understanding by the Minister that Age Concern played a key role and had a unique understanding of older people’s issues and lives in New Zealand. Many regional Age Concerns were represented through volunteer community co-ordinators in both the North and South Island indicating the interconnectedness of Age Concern in their local communities and their work at the ‘grass roots’.⁴³² Age Concern also held a forum to contribute to the development of the *Positive Ageing Strategy*. The forum attracted over 100 opinion leaders from a wide range of sectors, including the voluntary, health, local and central government. Thirteen recommended points of action were suggested on the criticism that the proposed Positive Ageing Principles failed to provide a “clear and strong foundation upon which to base the Strategy”.⁴³³ The recommended points of action were suggested to provide a clear guide for actions and the ability to measure progress. Those at the forum concluded that the development of the strategy was an important step forward, and that “[w]e must all ensure that the Government is held accountable for ensuring that the objectives are appropriate and successfully implemented”.⁴³⁴

As stated in the by the Minister for Seniors Lianne Dalziel , “the success of the Positive Ageing Strategy will be measured by improvements in the status of older people”.⁴³⁵ The *Positive Ageing Strategy* was designed to provide a framework for development of policies

⁴³⁰ Age Concern New Zealand Incorporated, *Ageing is Living: A guide to positive ageing* (Wellington: Age Concern New Zealand, 1999), 6.

⁴³¹ “Appendix 6: Key Contributors to the Positive Ageing Strategy,” 31.

⁴³² “Appendix 6: Key Contributors to the Positive Ageing Strategy,” 31.

⁴³³ “Appendix 5: Age Concern New Zealand Report of the Positive Ageing Strategy Forum – Executive Summary,” in Lianne Dalziel, *The New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy: Towards a Society for all Ages = He Anga Oranga Kau Mō Ngā Whakatipuranga Katoa* (Wellington, Ministry of Social Policy, 2001), 30.

⁴³⁴ “Appendix 5: Age Concern New Zealand Report of the Positive Ageing Strategy Forum,” 30.

⁴³⁵ New Zealand Office for Senior Citizens, “Chapter 3,” in *Briefing to the incoming Minister for Senior Citizens: Towards lifelong participation and independence* (Wellington: The Office, 2003), 3.

with implications for older people.⁴³⁶ The Positive Ageing Reference Group, developed the following vision for positive ageing in New Zealand:

Our vision is for a society where people can age positively, where older people are highly valued and where they are recognised as an integral part of families and communities. New Zealand will be a positive place in which to age when older people can say that they live in a society that values them, acknowledges their contributions and encourages their participation.⁴³⁷

The *Positive Ageing Strategy* detailed ten goals that, if implemented, would help achieve the above statement, covering issues of income, health, housing, transports, ageing in place, cultural diversity, rural, attitudes, employment and opportunities.⁴³⁸ Interestingly enough, nowhere in the *Positive Ageing Strategy* is positive ageing defined beyond a statement that the adopted concept embraces “a number of factors, including health, financial security, independence, self-fulfillment, community attitudes, personal safety and security, and the physical environment” and that older age should be “viewed and experienced positively”.⁴³⁹ Without a defined term, ‘positive ageing’ is open to interpretation by those in government. This presents itself with positives and negatives. Without having an absolute defined term, the strategy is able to adapt to future issues. However, this could also prove difficult when trying to legislate as it is a grey area and undermines the efficacy of the legislation. Despite this shortcoming, the development of a positive ageing strategy was a fundamentally important moment for New Zealand. The *Positive Ageing Strategy* was the first document of its type in New Zealand that focused on the needs of older people and their ability to contribute meaningfully to society. Ngaire Kerse sums this up as the moment the New Zealand Government acknowledged the “skills, knowledge and experience of older people, and their capacity to continue to contribute in varied ways to the broader society”.⁴⁴⁰ The government committed to setting goals to create a society in which people could age positively. The writing and implementation of this strategy was also an important moment for

⁴³⁶ Catriona MacLennan, *Ready for Anything: Growing Older in New Zealand: What You Need to Know* (Auckland: HarperCollins, 2009), 274

⁴³⁷ Lianne Dalziel, *The New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy: Towards a Society for all Ages = He Anga Oranga Kau Mō Ngā Whakatipuranga Katoa* (Wellington, Ministry of Social Policy, 2001), 13.

⁴³⁸ Dalziel, *The New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy*, 20-23.

⁴³⁹ Dalziel, *The New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy*, 9.

⁴⁴⁰ Ngaire Kerse “Ageing Well? Social Support and Inequalities for Older New Zealanders,” in *A land of milk & honey? Making sense of Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey McIntosh and Matt Wynyard (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017), 236.

those advocating on behalf of older people as well as older people themselves as it solidified the relationship between the government and both Age Concern and Grey Power in particular.

The global awareness of population ageing that occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s played a significant role in the reframing of old age and ageing in policy not only in New Zealand but around the world. International communities and government had little choice but to address this demographic transition. In New Zealand the formation and implementation of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* saw the government, for the first time, adopt plan for managing this transition. However, there were a number of key steps that happened within New Zealand that led to this strategy. The adoption of the idea of positive ageing was influenced by the work of Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA. Age Concern and Grey Power's focus on educating the wider community on the positive contribution older people make to their communities and positive aspects of ageing and old age saw positive ageing ideas filter through at a community and governmental level, even before the introduction of it in government policy. The New Zealand Government developed new 'infrastructure' regarding ageing, in the form of ministries, task forces and strategies. The Government did not work in isolation on this matter however, it also took a number of steps to include the older person's voice in policy formation throughout the 1990s. Promoting positive aspects of ageing to the wider community was essential for enabling policy regarding old age and ageing to be implemented effectively. Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA all contributed and collaborated with the government on policy formation and research during this time. The adoption of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* by the New Zealand Government established a new commitment to focus on older people in New Zealand, something that Age Concern, Grey Power and to some extent the NZRSA aimed to do via their advocacy and lobbying work.

Conclusion

Societal transformations that occurred during the 1970s to 2000s had significant impacts on older people, attitudes towards them and their capacity to contribute to their communities. From the 1980s, New Zealand, like other western nations, experienced an increase in the proportion of those over the age of 65. By 1999, over 12 percent of the population was over the age of 65.⁴⁴¹ Advances in healthcare caused life expectancy to rise to, on average, 76 for a male and 81 for a female by the early 2000s.⁴⁴² Successive governments throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s sought to alter New Zealand Superannuation. The age of entitlement and universality of this benefit changed which impacted on the socio-economic status of many older people. During the 1980s, ballooning costs of Superannuation combined with a downturn in the New Zealand economy resulted in the state re-evaluating whether older people were ‘deserving’ of this financial help. Access to higher education and increased work opportunities meant that more women were contesting their role within the family. This, combined with an increasing number of adult children living away from their parents, caused a fragmentation of the family unit which had a large impact on the care of the elderly. After World War II, the government began to pass some of the responsibility for aged care to the community and voluntary sector. Old people’s homes and hospitals set up by religious institutions were primarily made responsible for caring for older people. However, by the 1980s those in the private sector also began to move into this space. During this time community and voluntary groups that focused on different aspects of older people’s needs, including social gatherings, sport and recreation, personal assistance, healthcare and housing, were also established.

Older people themselves played a considerable role in the shift of attitude towards old age and ageing seen within New Zealand during the 1970s to 2000s. From the 1970s, more women entered the paid workforce which caused the ‘young-old’, aged between 60 to 75, to become a significant portion of the voluntary and community workforce. The establishment of national advocacy groups during the 1970s and 1980s, that not only comprised of older people but also concentrated on their issues, challenged preconceived ideas about old age. Older people were out in their communities volunteering, attending meetings to defend their

⁴⁴¹ Stats NZ, “Population ageing in New Zealand.”

⁴⁴² Stats NZ, “Life expectancy,” accessed October 11, 2019. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/topics/life-expectancy>.

rights, “fists in the air” protesting, advocating and lobbying government on matters that concerned them.⁴⁴³ These groups gave many older people in New Zealand a channel through which they could be represented. Through them, older people’s issues were being brought to the attention of the wider community as well as the state in a more concentrated and organised manner than ever before. Gaining public sympathy for the issues affecting older people was important for the success of their advocacy, especially towards the end of the 1980s as the state radically transformed its relationship with the voluntary and community sector. Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA all used various forms of advocating and lobbying to gain sympathy from the New Zealand public and capture the attention of the government. Press releases from the NZRSA and Grey Power served a number of functions, including highlighting issues facing older people in their communities and being a medium used to criticize the government in the public arena. They also served a further function by promoting an impression of older people becoming increasingly active in their communities. This further helped change opinions about older people and their ability to contribute to society.

The growing number of older people within the population also played an important role in changing the language regarding ageing and old age in New Zealand. Issues affecting older people impacted on a growing percentage of the total population. The growing number of older people saw the membership of Grey Power and Age Concern grow substantially, which resulted in more branches and associations being created. A growing membership helped Grey Power establish influence as they argued grey power meant voting power.⁴⁴⁴ This attributed to the increased attention given by the state to the issues being put forward to them by Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA. Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA combatted negative perceptions about ageing and old age through actively promoting positive ideas about older people and their contribution within society during the 1980s and 1990s. In addition to an increasing proportion of older people, there was the growing awareness during the 1990s of an ageing society. The growing awareness of population ageing gave Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA an opportunity to work with the government to reframe how old age and ageing would be constructed in New Zealand. Global discussions on ageing and old age during the 1980s facilitated similar conversations in New Zealand in the

⁴⁴³ Tennant, *The fabric of welfare*, 151.

⁴⁴⁴ “Grey Power moves into the 1990’s,” 4.

following decade. During these discussions, the New Zealand Government actively sought the input of these national organisations, exemplifying the important place they held in society and the wealth of knowledge they had about older people in the community. This process embedded Age Concern, Grey Power and to some extent the NZRSA in state relationships.

Advocacy should aim to bring about structural change to remedy inequalities, not to just make them more tolerable, therefore, the success of Age Concern, Grey Power and the NZRSA's advocacy work depended on the relationship each group had with the state.⁴⁴⁵ Personal connections and informality were characteristics of the relationship between the state and the community and voluntary sector until the late 1980s. Both the NZRSA and to some extent Age Concern benefitted from these relationships. This allowed them to gain influence and build important relationships with ministers who could benefit those they advocated for. However, neoliberal reforms introduced by the Fourth Labour government in 1984, and the subsequent National government in 1990 fundamentally changed this relationship. Of most significance was the change from a practice of funding organisations on the basis of historical precedent to a more competitive contract style funding system. Organisations which relied on government funding, such as Age Concern, were now constrained by the contracts that ensured their survival. This impacted on their ability to advocate and lobby the government. Regional Age Concern councils used their position within their local communities and the knowledge that this brought to pass information to the national office to influence the government into taking action in this new contract arena. Despite being at the mercy of the contract state, Age Concern still held a level of influence at a ministerial level. The ability for Age Concern to transform an idea, the EANP, into a contractable service demonstrates their ability to identify a need of older people in the community currently neglected by the state and persuade the government to act. Age Concern used their own research and reports to assist their advocacy efforts. Their connection with older people in the community allowed them to identify important and emerging issues for older people, and then communicate their findings to the government to push for change. Grey Power and the NZRSA on the other hand, were funded through membership fees. As a result, they were able to openly criticize and lobby the government on issues that affected their memberships. The assertive language used in their publications, media releases and

⁴⁴⁵ Parsons, *Oliver Twist has asked for more*, 40.

speeches prove this freedom to be outspoken which assisted their advocacy and lobbying efforts greatly.

Despite the flawed relationship, neither the government nor those in the community and voluntary sector could work in isolation. Through the creation of a positive ageing construct and the implementation of the *Positive Ageing Strategy* (2001), the New Zealand Government made a significant commitment to ensure that older people would live and age well in New Zealand. It has been suggested that usually advocacy by and on behalf of older people has more impact on policy than does voting behavior.⁴⁴⁶ In this case, the statement is true. Advocacy was a driver for change at both local and national levels. The importance of having a large membership, a relationship with the government, an understanding of the needs of those being advocated for and the means to effectively communicate those needs to government and the wider community was essential for changing perceptions about old age and ageing within policy and society.

Even though the advocacy activity broadly benefitted all older people, there were still those who were not greatly advantaged by these activities. The NZRSA remained a representative organisation speaking for its membership, namely older male veterans, mainly Pākehā, who lived in predominately urban areas. Conversely, there were a number of rural RSAs still functioning after the 1980s despite a reduction in membership. Positions within the organisation, particularly in the upper management and executive levels, were exclusively held by men. This meant that the NZRSAs representation was limited, which was reflected in the limited focus that only extended to the needs of older veterans. Grey Power were also responsive to their members, however, did not have strict criteria compared with the NZRSA. They had larger representation than the NZRSA and certainly advocated on a wider number of issues concerning older people in New Zealand despite their single focused beginnings.⁴⁴⁷ However, like the NZRSA, the upper management and executive positions were held by older Pākehā men, mainly in urban areas. Age Concern had the most contact with older people in the community. As a provider of services, namely the Elder Abuse and Neglect response service, and co-ordinator of other community and voluntary groups that focused on

⁴⁴⁶ Gee, et al., *Creating Communities for all Ages*, 56.

⁴⁴⁷ Grey Power was originally established to protest against the introduction of a superannuation 'surtax' but widened the focus of their advocacy to include topics such as health, law and order, transport, housing, retirement income and taxation, aged care and retirement villages, and social services and telecommunications.

older people, Age Concern represented a wider number of older people including women. However, they too only represented a predominately Pākehā and urban voice. The voice of migrant, Māori and Pacific older people were not specifically represented by these groups. Despite this, the issues they advocated on, like Grey Power, impacted on older New Zealanders that were not represented in their membership, clients, or leadership positions.

Democratic governments, to varying degrees, have economic constraints which means that historically, and currently, they have relied on the family, particularly women in the family, and the community and voluntary sector to look after and pay the costs of people who had and will become increasingly expensive. The ability for Age Concern to establish and become the main providers of the EANP service did not only mean they were an effective provider of this service, it also meant they were the most cost-effective way of providing these services. Older people's services have and will continue to fall into this category. Services such as health care, personal care and specialist accommodation provided by those in the community and voluntary sector will be increasingly sought after. The *Health of Older People Strategy* (2002) and the *New Zealand Health Strategy* (2016) both focus on 'ageing in place', which means supporting older people to remain in their own homes for as long as possible. This requires a certain level of care and support to be available to older people. If the government wants to continue with this policy, then steps should be taken to help finance and assist the community and voluntary sector to be able to continue to support older people to remain in their own homes.

As the proportion of older people in New Zealand increases, advocates for older people will face new challenges and will continue to refocus their advocacy and lobbying efforts. Despite the growing proportion of older people in New Zealand, groups like Grey Power have experienced a reduction in membership in recent years. This reduction in membership could signify that Grey Power no longer represents its members. Alternatively, it could reflect that the majority of older New Zealander's are currently happy about the situation they are in. Life expectancy is continuing to increase, bringing with it a range of new issues to contend with. The growing number of those diagnosed with dementia and other conditions that compromise their ability to make decisions for themselves poses a new set of challenges for policy and guidelines that favour people living in their own homes and communities for as long as possible. Human rights issues related to the ability to give informed consent for containment and medication will be increasingly looked at as numbers of older people with

cognitive decline grow. While people are living longer, this does not necessarily mean they live well towards the end of their life. Current debates about euthanasia and its implications for older people need to be considered. Euthanasia is a highly contested subject. The large number of submissions made by those in the medical profession in opposition to the suggested legalisation of euthanasia are driven by the Hippocratic oath that those in the medical profession take to do no harm. The ‘old-old’ are particularly vulnerable and may feel like they are a burden on their family. The goal for the majority of people is to live a long and healthy life. Therefore, everyone has a vested interest in ensuring that the right thing is done and that the laws and practices in New Zealand help to ensure that older people have the supports they need to live well in old age.

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